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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 19, 1 October 1983

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## CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON DEVELOPING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY PROPORTIONATELY AND IN A PLANNED WAY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 83 pp 2-9

[Article by Bo Yibo]

[Text] Under the guidance of the correct general policy of the CPC Central Committee, great achievements have been made in the past few years on the work of economic readjustment. Some important proportional relationships between accumulation and consumption and between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry have become more rational. Generally speaking the economic situation is good or very good. However there are many problems. Some problems are left over from the past and have not been resolved well and some problems have emerged quite recently. Judging from the present situation, readjustment should continue to be implemented within the Sixth 5-Year Plan period up to 1985. The construction of projects in the fields of energy resources, communications, and certain raw material industries is aimed at strengthening the weak links, which involves readjusting the structure of enterprises and industries or coordinating the relationship of proportion. The purpose in doing this is to operate the national economy in a proportionate and planned way. In 1980 Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that, with respect to our economic development, we were seeking a faster and more economical way which suited China's practical situation and "we have paid our tuition fees and sustained some losses, but what is more important is that we are enhancing our competence and capabilities and we have begun to achieve positive results." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 211) To do our future work better, it is beneficial to look back on the path we have traveled in our economic construction so as to sum up and draw on experiences and lessons therein.

I

In the last 30-odd years since the founding of the country, we have carried out large-scale socialist economic construction and achieved great results which are acknowledged throughout the world. However, for a considerable length of time in the past--due to the erroneous "leftist" guiding ideology--blind pursuit of faster production bent on seeking higher general output value without regard to China's concrete conditions caused three great setbacks to development of the national economy: The first time

was from 1958 to 1960, the second time at the beginning of the 1970's, and the third time in 1978. These historical lessons are very profound indeed.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party corrected the guiding ideology and enhanced the understanding of the laws governing our country's socialist construction. It put forward the eight-character policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving," and emphasized building socialism with Chinese characteristics in accordance with China's practical conditions, thus indicating explicitly the orientation of developing the national economy. The 12th CPC National Congress advanced the strategic target of quadrupling the annual total output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century, and all Chinese are striving with full confidence to realize this target. With regard to ways of fulfilling this task, the CPC Central Committee points out explicitly that in conformity with the principle of seeking truth from facts and acting properly according to concrete times and places, the time for fulfilling the task should be divided into two periods: The first 10 years should be used to lay a solid foundation, and therefore the speed should not be too fast; and in the second 10 years there should be a new period of vigorous economic development, and the speed of development should be somewhat faster--but this speed should differ from the so-called high speed in the past which was sought one-sidedly. At the same time it is emphasized time and again that the prerequisite is the enhancement of economic results in which the speed is to be sought. In actual practice, different treatment should be given to different regions, departments, and trades. They should not be asked to quadruple their output value without exception, but should be assigned different tasks according to practical conditions, needs, and potential. Some should quadruple their output value, some should produce even more than that target, but some should be given lighter responsibilities.

The general policy of the CPC Central Committee is correct. This correct policy is playing an important guiding role in practice. However we can also see that many comrades who are doing practical work on the economic front have not drawn enough lessons from past setbacks. From regions, departments, and enterprises there are a number of comrades who, when hearing about quadrupling the output value, think only of the total output value and "high speed," spurring an increase in the number of projects and expansion of existing items. As a result there were signs in 1982 of expanding investment in fixed assets, causing certain industries to grow too fast and the scope of capital construction to exceed the state's financial and material capability. In this respect, although the CPC Central Committee discovered this in time and adopted measures to make rectifications, this problem needs to be seriously treated and should never be ignored.

An important question is involved here; that is, how to understand and deal with the total output value target. The total output value is one of the comprehensive economic targets and we have to use it in calculating the speed of development. However, this target has great limitations. First, it cannot reflect various changes in economic results such as cost

(including depreciation of fixed assets, consumption of raw materials, wages, management expenses, and so on) and profits. If the total output value is sought one-sidedly, the enterprises may be induced to neglect the enhancement of products' quality and the increase of varieties, and to produce products which may increase the amount of output value but not necessarily be needed on the market. Consequently, overstocking of products takes place. In this way the object of "speed" is achieved but no actual increase in net output value is gained, resulting in great waste of precious manpower, and financial and material resources. Second, it tends to cause some enterprises to pay attention to fulfillment of the total output value without regard to enhancing the social economic results of products. Or, in other instances, these enterprises are unwilling to conduct technical transformation and raise the technological level lest they fail to fulfill the target of the total output value. Third, the total output value comprises some repetition of calculation. If constant pressure is exerted on enterprises for greater output value, they may be forced to take advantage of the method of repeating calculations and to make false statements. In these statements for output value submitted in this way, the transfer of value will constitute a large percentage and the proportion of newly created value will be too small. Lastly, high speed, which aims one-sidedly at enhancement of the total output value, will also prompt us to blindly expand investment in fixed assets to increase production capability and pay sole attention to extensive expansion of reproduction. In the past there were instances in which the scale of capital construction was too large and went out of control. One cause leading to this phenomenon was the above malpractice.

The causes of seeking total output value and high speed one-sidedly are manifold in terms of ideology and understanding, decisionmaking, and the economic management system. Because our country has been backward for a very long time, all of us want to get rich and become prosperous as soon as possible and to build more projects, and, in fact, we need to expedite our construction as much as possible. However, only when the needs and the possibility, and the objective laws and the subjective initiative are appropriately integrated can the hopes gradually become a reality. In this regard the following points are especially worth noting: First, proportional relationships exist in various aspects of our economic life. If our work conforms to the requirements of these objective relationships, the development of our economy will enjoy relatively smooth and sound progress; on the contrary, if these relationships are destroyed, even if the "speed" can be achieved for a time, it will eventually stop. The national economy must develop proportionately. True and lasting high speed can be achieved only when the proportional relationships are adhered to. Second, as stated above, the CPC Central Committee's target for the end of this century is meant for the whole country. Therefore various regions, departments, and enterprises should start from the objective relationships of proportion with the overall situation in mind and plan their own speed of development in a matter-of-fact way. At present we are conducting structural readjustment, but the situation of imbalanced proportion accumulated over a long time in the past has not been changed. For all trades and places to strive to quadruple the output value without classification will inevitably

aggravate the state of imbalanced proportion, and another readjustment will have to be made in the end. Some comrades also talk of the proportional relationship but they often look at things from the angle of local regions or local departments, saying that a certain amount of kind of thing is lacking in local units and that the authorities should supply what is needed. If this practice is allowed to go on, the overall proportional relationship will eventually be sabotaged and, as a result, the target of quadrupling the total output value will not be realized. There should be flexibility and initiative in local work, but local interests should be subservient to the overall interests and the national unified plan should not be sabotaged. Third, there was a phenomenon during the past years of construction: When economic development was not smooth or when difficulties were great, we were more modest and prudent and dealt with matters in a relatively matter-of-fact way, and thus we could overcome difficulties in a relatively short time and gradually improve the economic situation. But once the situation made a turn for the better we often became less prudent, and did not pay enough attention to the study of objective laws. Three big setbacks which took place within the 30-year period all occurred under this kind of situation. These three big setbacks were punishments for the violation of objective laws. We are materialists. Therefore we must do things in a matter-of-fact way and respect objective laws. So we must go deep into the practical situation and make investigations to grasp first-hand information. At the same time, modern information feedback systems should be actively established and developed, statistics and forecasts should be further improved, and comprehensive equilibrium should be well effected so our economy and social development plan can better conform with objective practice.

For a long time there have been irrational aspects in our economic management system which prompt various sectors to seek total output value and high speed blindly. For example, enterprises conducted production according to tasks assigned by upper-level authorities in disregard of operational and market needs. Products were distributed or purchased for marketing by the state. Enterprises were eating from the same "big pot" provided by the state without taking any responsibility for profit or loss. Under this system enterprises did not consider the suitability of their products nor did they strive to increase the variety or raise the quality of products. They produced only products which would bring greater output value. Consequently from the standpoint of the enterprises the output value was greatly increased, but in fact the products were just delivered to state warehouses which became overstocked. Therefore, from the standpoint of society no actual economic results were gained. As another example, in the past we made individual plans in accordance with individual conditions, thus lacking inherent connections or comprehensive equilibrium between departments or units. This practice often led to imbalance of proportional relationships. These problems in our system's structure should be gradually resolved through structural reform.

At present, adequate determination and control over the scale of construction is still of primary importance for the stability and vigorous development of our economy. We must be firmly resolved, in a matter-of-fact way,

resolutely to rectify the tendency of blindly seeking total output value and high speed of development, which has been formed for a long time, so that we can truly meet the requirements set out by Comrade Zhao Ziyang in his "Government Work Report" at the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC: "To find a new way with more practical speed and better economic results, which can give the people more practical benefits."

## II

Proportional relationships in the national economy have many aspects. In the following discussions I wish to emphasize the proportional relationships concerning accumulation and consumption and also other related problems such as the ratio of the state's financial revenue to the national income and the ratio of capital construction and other expenditure to total financial expenditure.

The national income is the value newly created within a certain period by workers engaged in material production in the society. Through distribution and redistribution it is used partly for consumption, satisfying the needs of people's individual life and the needs of public consumption, which two aspects constitute consumption funds; the remainder, used in various kinds of construction for expanded reproduction and for setting up material reserves, can be termed accumulation funds. The amount of the national income within a certain period is limited. If consumption becomes greater accumulation becomes smaller, thus affecting economic construction; on the other hand, if accumulation becomes too great the people's life will be affected, in which case there will be deviation from the objective of socialist production. Therefore it is wrong to emphasize any one side. Comrade Chen Yun said that "one is to have enough to eat, the other is to carry out construction," that is to say, both aspects should be taken care of at the same time. Under normal conditions, within a certain period, if the extent of increase of yearly national income is basically identical, and the extent of population increase is similar, then the rational ratio of accumulation to consumption per year within that period will not vary too much. However, the proportional relationship is not static. With the development of production and of science and technology and with the change of the population structure and of the people's consumption custom, the ratio between accumulation and consumption will be different in different periods.

In 1956, at the Eighth CPC National Congress, I delivered a speech precisely on the theme of correctly handling the ratio between accumulation and consumption. Based on experiences gained in the course of implementing the First 5-Year Plan, it was proposed that within a certain period the rate of accumulation in the national income should be brought under control and should be in the region of 20 percent or a little higher. In retrospect, this proposition basically conformed with the practical situation at that time. However, in the course of construction after that, because of aspiration for so-called high speed under "leftist" guiding ideology, accumulation was generally on the high side, especially during several periods of setbacks: from 1958 to 1960 the average accumulation rate was



39.3 percent, with figures for individual years approaching 44 percent; from 1970 to 1976--for 7 consecutive years--the accumulation rate stood at between 31 to 34 percent, averaging 32.6 percent annually; and in 1978 the recorded accumulation rate was 36.5 percent. Because the accumulation had been too high for a long time, the people's standard of living could not be enhanced as it should. To overcome difficulties under special circumstances it is feasible or even necessary to carry out construction with the belt tightened. But if this practice continues for a long time the initiative of the broad masses will certainly be affected. Furthermore, the amount of accumulation depends not on our subjective wishes but on the amount of the means of production in society (including the amount of possible imports). The foundation of our country is thin and the material supply has been rather tight. If the accumulation rate is too high it will affect current production as well as the people's life, resulting in an overall tense situation in our economic life, with no achievement in terms of high speed in the end.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party and the government made great efforts to reduce the size of the capital construction front and adopted various measures to raise the people's standard of living, with the result that the accumulation rate dropped to under 30 percent. Under these circumstances the proportional relationships between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry tended to be rational, the tense situation in material supply became mitigated, and the supply of certain categories of consumer goods gradually became abundant. In 1982 the investment in fixed assets increased too much, and the general scale of capital construction was out of control. This happened because funds became increasingly scattered over these years and local authorities, departments, and enterprises, when they have money in hand, do not attach importance to the technical transformation of existing enterprises but conduct capital construction on a large scale. In 1979, the national investment in extra-budgetary capital construction stood at 10.49 billion yuan and it increased to 27.89 billion yuan in 1982. As for the ratio of extra-budgetary investment to total investment in capital construction, it stood at 20 percent in 1979 and rose to 50.2 percent in 1982. Because extra-budgetary investment was conducted in a scattered way and we lacked effective means of control, it was hard to effect an overall and unified arrangement. Various local authorities often started from their local needs and built up processing industries which already had excessive production capabilities. In addition quite a number of absolutely unnecessary "buildings, halls, guest houses, and clubs" were built. It was difficult to reduce their scope owing to their scattered state. During this period, the central authorities said time and again that the scope of capital construction should be reduced, and as a result the scope of capital construction within the budget has been reduced but the scope outside the budget has been increased. Although the scope of capital construction as a whole is considerable, key items such as energy resources and communications which bear directly on the overall situation fail to score satisfactory results. From this it can be asserted that only with organizational guarantees, definite responsibility systems, and strict discipline can the correct line and the general and specific policies of central authorities be truly implemented.

The present problems are: On the one hand, investment in capital construction increases too rapidly; on the other hand, the increase of consumption funds is out of control to a degree. Since 1979 we have considerably raised the purchase price of agricultural and sideline products and implemented various policies on different aspects of the economy. As a result, the peasants' initiative is mobilized and agricultural production is increasing consistently, resulting in a rapid growth of the peasant income. At the same time the state has adjusted wages several times and universally implemented the bonus system. Furthermore, more than 30 million persons have been assigned jobs. All these measures have brought greater increase in the income of staff and workers in cities and towns. During the 4 years from 1979 to 1982 more than 120 billion yuan of national income was newly added, of which a total of 106 billion yuan went to the pockets of peasants, communes, and brigades as well as staff and workers, accounting for 86 percent of the newly added national income. In these years we have intentionally adjusted the ratio between accumulation and consumption. We think it is necessary for individuals to increase their income a little faster and in fact the increased portion is, for the most part, rational. However, in certain years and in some respects, the speed of increase was too fast. Furthermore, there were shortcomings in our work. Thus, problems did arise in certain respects. For example, some local units purposely lowered the base of grain in their purchasing work and expanded the scope of negotiated bargains at will, thus bringing loss of control over the purchase price of agricultural products. Some enterprises indiscriminately granted bonuses (including material objects) and many units allotted subsidies too generously, all of which moves were obviously irrational. Consequently, in the past few years the rate of increase of consumption funds has exceeded the extent of the increase of the national income and the enhancement of labor productivity. If this situation is to continue, the newly added national income will be used for personal consumption, social reproduction will not be in a position to expand or even contract, and the material basis for a sustained increase of the national income will be weakened or even lost. In the long run, it will be hard or even impossible for personal consumption to increase under these circumstances. Similarly, determination of the amount of consumption funds depends not on our subjective wishes but on the amount of material for consumption in society. Under the condition that the material for consumption is limited, if individuals receive too much income and the social purchasing power rises too rapidly, inflation will occur, with the result that the broad masses will not gain any genuine benefits from their increased income and, on the contrary, may suffer from it. Therefore, whether in the light of the people's long-term interests or their immediate interests, the increase of consumption funds should be brought under control within rational limits.

At present the economic situation of our country is quite different from the First and the Second 5-Year Plan periods, so the rational ratio between accumulation and consumption should be correspondingly readjusted. According to our past experiences, and with reference to experiences in foreign countries, we once planned to control the rate of accumulation at 25 percent or a little higher. However, because of practical conditions in our economy which call for concentration of funds to ensure key projects, it will be



quite difficult for the rate of accumulation to decrease within a definite period from now, and it seems that the rate is best set from 27 percent to 28 percent, with 30 percent as the highest limit. At the same time we can see that in handling the relationship between accumulation and consumption, our basic work is still not satisfactory; it is hard for us to effectively control the ratio between accumulation and consumption in advance, nor is it easy to effect any adjustments. Therefore, planning and statistics work should be strengthened and forecasts should be conducted with respect to accumulation and consumption funds, so that blindness in doing things can be reduced.

Under the system of planned economy some large-scale construction items, some important scientific and educational undertakings, and some large-scale public welfare undertakings can be arranged and controlled only by the state. Also, funds used in national defense, administration, and other undertakings are to be paid by the state. Therefore the state has to obtain corresponding funds from the national income. In the 1950's it was once envisaged that financial revenue should constitute 30 percent of the national income, or a little above. However, in subsequent practice this ratio was exceeded. For example, from 1958 to 1960 the average was 40.7 percent, and in 1978 it was 37.2 percent. During this period, aside from 3 years of readjustment at the beginning of the 1960's when the state had to concentrate some more funds to overcome difficulties, other years of overconcentration were due directly to our eagerness to achieve results in economic construction through high accumulation, and were due in part to the financial system in which the state-run enterprises were subject to unified revenue and expenditure supervised by the state. When the state centralized the funds too much, the enterprises have little money in hand and therefore fail to do things that should be done. In addition the state cannot take care of everything. All this does not benefit the rational arrangement of the proportional relationship between accumulation and consumption.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we conducted reforms on a trial basis and expanded the enterprises' decision-making rights. We practiced a financial system in which central and local authorities took care of their own accounts; thus the situation of overcentralization manifestly changed. But another problem arises, that is, the state's financial centralization became smaller and smaller. With reference to the national income, the proportion of financial revenue constituted 31.9 percent in 1979, decreasing annually to 25.5 percent in 1982 (24.5 percent if the revenue from treasury bonds is deducted). As stated above, of the over 120 billion yuan of the newly added national income in these years, 106 billion yuan went to the pockets of individuals, communes, and brigades. In addition, the enterprises obtained 24 billion yuan. On the other hand, the financial revenue of the state decreased by 7 billion yuan. Financial revenue decreased but expenditure did not decrease, and funds in such fields as science and education had to increase to keep pace with the construction of the four modernizations. Thus, problems have occurred in two respects: On the one hand, the state key projects lack the guarantee of funds and no great achievements can be made in this way. In 1979, capital construction investment within the state budget stood at

41.86 billion yuan but in 1982 it decreased to 27.67 billion yuan. Construction in terms of energy resources, communications, and transport depends primarily on state investment. Because of the tense financial situation in 1982, investments in capital construction of energy resources and of communications and transport decreased by 10.9 percent and 16 percent respectively as compared with 1978. If this continues, how can we change the irrational situation regarding the economic structure? On the other hand, financial revenue and expenditure are not balanced. This is a matter of crucial significance. Financial deficit means in effect the arrangement of a portion of expenditure without material guarantee. If not controlled, this situation will cause the supply of consumer goods to become tense, and make the prices of commodities on the market fluctuate, thus affecting the people's livelihood as well as production.

Decrease in financial revenue, and expenditure exceeding revenue, are very prominent problems awaiting urgent solution in our current economic construction. In a certain period from now, necessary measures should be adopted to increase the ratio of financial revenue to the national income from 28 to 30 percent. This proposition seems more appropriate under the present circumstances. At the same time the relationship between the central and local financial organs should also be properly adjusted, so that the major portion of financial revenue can be concentrated in the hands of the central organs. Only in so doing can the needs of the four modernizations be met and some important tasks be accomplished. At the same time local authorities and the enterprises can still retain certain mobile financial power. In this way, the old practice of overconcentration and rigid unification will not be repeated.

There are appropriate ways to accumulate wealth and there are also appropriate ways to spend money. With respect to the financial funds of the state, careful and scrupulous calculations should be conducted as to the amount allotted for social and personal consumption and for accumulation, including the exact ways to use the accumulation portion. The First 5-Year Plan period was for laying a foundation for our country's industrialization. Therefore, of the financial expenditure, the accumulation portion was used primarily for capital construction. According to experience gained at that time, it was once envisaged that the appropriation ratio of capital construction to financial expenditure should be in the region of 40 percent. The basis for this proposition was that once the scale of capital construction was brought under control, the ratio between accumulation and consumption would be administered without much difficulty. But now concrete conditions have changed. First, as mentioned above, investment within the budget was well under control in 1982, with the capital construction appropriation accounting for only 26.8 percent of the total financial expenditure--the lowest percentage since the founding of the country. However, because the funds were overstretched, the accumulation rate was not well under control. This case greatly differed from past experience. From now on the financial authorities should concentrate a few more funds, and the ratio of capital construction investment to financial expenditure should be properly raised, or else the construction of key projects cannot be fully ensured. Secondly, we have now over 300,000 industrial and communications

enterprises which form an important basis for further development. However, this basis is not very sound because the equipment of most of these enterprises is old and technological processes are backward. Therefore, an important task in the future will be to carry out the technical transformation of existing enterprises in conjunction with the renewal of fixed assets, and to expand intensive reproduction. Implementation of technical transformation of an enterprise should depend mainly on its own funds or on bank loans, but financial authorities should render assistance if major transformation projects are involved. In this way, financial funds used in accumulation will have two directions of investment: one is to build new projects and the other is to carry out technical transformation. This is also a great change when compared with the First 5-Year Plan period in which the main focus was on building new projects. As far as technical transformation is concerned, some items may need to carry out capital construction and some may need to partly carry out capital construction. Therefore, when new projects are taken into consideration, careful calculations should be made regarding the total scope of budgeted capital construction. Generally speaking our funds are quite tense. Even if we wish to increase the proportion of capital construction, the money we can spare is still limited. Therefore, whether new items or technical transformation are to be introduced, we should study the results of investment conscientiously. For this purpose some detailed work needs to be done well, such as accurate selection of key projects, establishment of rational investment structure with particular reference to problems existing in the structure of enterprises, doing a good job in comprehensive balance in various sectors, and so on.

In short, in our future construction we should pay attention to the following points: First, act according to our capability; second, attach special importance to the key projects; and third, give prominence to gaining economic results.

### III

What we are practicing is planned economy. Planned economy, established on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, is superior to capitalist economy, which is characterized by its competition and an anarchical state in production. However, objective superiority is one thing, and whether this superiority can be brought into full play is another. In the past 30-odd years this superiority was at one time quite evident but at another time was not so evident, or even proved to the contrary in practice. This had something to do with our understanding of the objective world and with our work performance.

Comrade Mao Zedong said in the winter of 1955: "Human beings have developed for hundreds of thousands of years. And in a place like China, only up to the present can we obtain the conditions to develop our own economy and culture in a planned way. Since we have obtained these conditions, the appearance of our country will change from year to year. A relatively great change will take place every 5 years. After several periods of 5 years each, an even greater change will emerge." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5,

p 250) At the time Comrade Mao Zedong said this we were carrying out the First 5-Year Plan. At that time the economic situation was very good, and we were all very confident, saying with one voice that planned economy was excellent! Afterwards there came the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, and then several years later saw the emergence of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Because of errors in decisionmaking, the planning work was weakened and sabotaged, resulting in a serious proportional imbalance which entailed repeated readjustments. As a result some people expressed doubt about the superiority of planned economy. After all, does planned economy work? Our reply is in the affirmative. The superiority of the socialist economic system lies precisely in that it can develop proportionately and in a planned way. It is true that in the past we traveled a tortuous road and suffered great losses. However, it must be clearly seen that our system has a great inherent strength of correcting our own mistakes and overcoming difficulties and hindrances. It is precisely on the basis of this strength that we can, through very arduous readjustment work, make our national economy tide over serious difficulties and step once again onto the path of healthy development. Taken as a whole, our planned economy has still scored great achievements in the past 30-odd years. With respect to agriculture, the cultivated area we have only constitutes less than 7 percent of the total cultivated area in the world, but we have resolved the problem of providing food and clothing to our people who account for nearly one-quarter of the world's population, and with it we basically satisfy the need for raw materials relating to agricultural and sideline products used for the construction of our country. As for industry, we have basically set up a rather complete industrial system with comprehensive categories, and have established thousands of large and medium-sized key enterprises. By the end of 1982 we had nearly 500 billion yuan in fixed assets and more than 150 billion yuan in floating capital. Compared with 1949, the national gross industrial and agricultural output value in 1982 increased by 1,730 percent, of which the gross agricultural output value increased by 360 percent and the gross industrial output value increased by 5,090 percent. In this period, even though our population nearly doubled the people's standard of living still registered a marked increase, thanks to the relatively rapid development of the economy. This was in sharp contrast to the situation of old China, in which the economic development was long in a state of stagnation and the people lived a wretched life. Of course, if we had not committed those several grave errors in our work our recorded achievements should have been much greater.

The orientation of planned economy is correct and it must be adhered to. It should not be doubted or weakened. As for ways to effect planned economy, we had no experience at the beginning. Over the past 30-odd years we have learned from foreign experiences on the one hand, and have tried to find our way in practice on the other, thus establishing a management system for the implementation of planned economy. Looking at it from the present angle, it is still very imperfect and has many shortcomings, and there are problems on handling of the relationship between central and local authorities, and between the state and enterprises. Although the socialized grand production of our country has had a considerable scale, development is still very unbalanced. In agricultural production, the commodity rate of

agricultural products is still low, and in some places a semi-self-sufficient economy exists. In industrial production, the development of division of labor and coordination is not good enough, and types of marketing and operation featuring big and comprehensive or small and comprehensive management exist. Communications are not good enough, and the means of statistics as well as the means of processing information are universally backward. It is impractical for the state to integrate all the economic activities into a unified plan, and it can only be a major plan coupled with minor freedoms, so that the initiative of various sectors and various economic modes can be brought into full play. Comrade Chen Yun pointed this out as early as 1956 when the socialist transformation of private industrial and commercial enterprises was completed. His idea at that time was: With respect to industrial and commercial operations, operations by the state and by the collective were the main elements of industry and commerce, but a certain amount of individual operations were attached with supplemented operations by the state and the collective; with respect to production plans, the major part of the country's industrial and agricultural products should be produced in accordance with production plans, but at the same time a portion of products should be produced freely according to variations of the market and within the scope permitted by the state plan; and in the socialist unified market the state market should be its principal element, but a free market within a certain scope and under the leadership of the state should be attached. This kind of free market should be under state leadership and supplement the state market, thus forming a part of the socialist unified market.

Unfortunately, at that time and a rather long period after that, this proposition had not been put into practice. On the contrary, the correct thing was repudiated and labeled as a wrong idea, thereby causing some inappropriate methods to become entrenched. This was manifested mainly in the following respects: The first was to make the economic forms excessively unified. In many fields of economic life, individual economy which possessed certain positive functions was restricted too severely on the grounds of cutting "the tail of capitalism," and for a time individual economy was almost completely disposed of; as for collective economy, emphasis was laid on practicing "larger in size and having a greater degree of public ownership" as well as "transition" to the economic system of ownership by the whole people. The second was that all enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people were all taken care of by the state in the form of unified revenue and expenditure, with all the losses or profits in care of the state, with the result that the enterprises had very little power and accordingly very little responsibility, and therefore they had little initiative to break new ground and were not in a position to deal effectively with variations or problems. The third was that there were no rational rules governing the relationship between central and local organs, with the result that things that should be centralized were not centralized enough, things that should be decentralized were not decentralized enough, sometimes centralization was practiced excessively, and sometimes decentralization was effected without restraint. And the fourth was that the authorities were accustomed to adopting administrative measures in handling matters, and they paid little attention to study of the relationship between



supply and demand on the market and did not attach importance to the function of the laws of value, and therefore they were not good at using the economic lever and economic measures to guide development of the national economy and operational activities in the production of enterprises. At times we also felt that there were defects in this practice and once advanced the question of reforming the system, but we concentrated our attention on the problem of the relationship between centralization of power and of local decentralization of power, paying little attention to problems concerning economic forms and the relationship between the enterprises and the state. As a matter of fact, under the guidance of the erroneous "leftist" ideology, it was impossible to solve problems radically in terms of the system. It was only after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that we truly had conditions for an overall reform of the economic system.

In the past few years some important reforms, especially in the rural areas, have been conducted. The orientation has been correct, the steps have been sound and well measured, and the results are outstanding. In the course of the reform, although some problems such as the excessive decentralization of materials and the uncontrolled handling of consumption funds have emerged which should be duly solved, taken as a whole, the economy has been invigorated through the reform, paving the way for further reform of the economic system. We should sum up our experiences and strenuously continue to explore new ways. In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that "correct implementation of the principle of treating planned economy as the main element and market adjustment as a supplement is a fundamental issue in the reform of the economic system." In accordance with this basic principle, the following problems should be studied and well handled in planning the reform of the system.

The state should effect macroscopic control and guidance regarding the national economy through various measures, such as formulating and implementing economic plans, handling well important proportional relationships between accumulation and consumption and between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry, stipulating an appropriate speed of economic development, handling well the orientation of development of the large industrial cities or of economic zones with industrial bases as centers, and so on. Some of the targets in the state plan are in the nature of a directive and some are in the nature of guidance, and both are absolutely necessary. With regard to the general scale of investment in fixed assets, key construction items, key enterprises, and important products that have a direct bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood, the total volume of wages, and other important aspects, plans in the nature of directives must be implemented and controlled by the state so as to ensure their fulfillment, or else it will do harm to the overall economic situation and to the development of the national economy along the path of planned economy. As for other than the above, it is not appropriate nor feasible for the state plan to exert overall control. Directives have a compulsive nature, but they should not resort to administrative orders alone in their implementation; and although guiding plans do not have a compulsive nature, appropriate targets still should be set for their

execution, coupled with guidance on policy and requisite administrative intervention by the state. It should also be pointed out emphatically that no matter what forms are adopted in planning, we should be good at utilizing the laws of value and the means of regulating the economy, including taxation, pricing, credit, and so on. Strengthening the function of the means of regulating the economy is not in opposition to, but in conformity with, the principle of treating planned economy as the main element and market adjustment as the supplement. The better the use of the means of regulation or adjustment, the more smoothly plans will be completed. Ours is a socialist economy, and the policies concerning taxation, pricing, and credit are centrally formulated by the state. Therefore, we have full conditions to utilize the laws of value conscientiously and to make use of various means of economic adjustment to achieve our planned targets. As for the production and operation activities of the individual economy and of a considerable number of collective enterprises, to the extent permitted by policies and regulations of the state they should be allowed to conduct production and exchange in accordance with the laws of value and variations in market supply and demand; and as for the state-run enterprises, on the condition that they can fulfill the tasks under the state plan in an all-round way, they can also make some self-determined arrangements in production based on market conditions. That is to say, market adjustment should be practiced. By implementing this method economic work will have a greater capability of meeting different requirements. Of course, spontaneous adjustment by means of the laws of value will not be without a certain degree of blindness in action. However, since the supply of raw materials and the sales of products cannot separate themselves from the state's planned market, the state can control their production and circulation through indirect planning and administration, and can use various economic levers such as pricing, taxation rate, and interest, to guide the activities of the enterprises so that they can gain better results and avoid blunders.

In implementing the economic management system of treating planned economy as the main element and market adjustment as the supplement, there is a great amount of work to be done. This comprises the reform concerning the system of plan management, the system of financial management, the system of material management, the system of commercial management, as well as the management system of prices, credit, and labor wages; in particular, proper methods should be adopted to solve the problem regarding the relationship between enterprises and the state so that state-run enterprises can no longer "eat from the same big pot" and can make greater contributions to the state, and so on. In this respect we still have a great "realm of necessity" before us, and we should conduct studies actively and prudently and gradually accumulate experiences through practice, and formulate feasible plans with corresponding laws and regulations to guide our actions.

Lenin said: "The balance constantly and consciously maintained amounts practically to planning." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 566) It was only after thorough deliberation that Stalin linked planning to proportionateness, which is a great contribution to the socialist political economics. If we want to do a good job in planning the economy, we must

correctly arrange the speed and the relationship of proportion. At the same time, we must, through reforms, make concrete the guiding principle of treating planned economy as the main element and market adjustment as the supplement. Only in this way can we ensure that our national economy develops vigorously, steadily, and healthily.

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A DECISIVE STRUGGLE WHICH CORRECTED THE PARTY'S POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS--  
STUDYING EXPOSITIONS ON INTELLECTUALS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

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[Article by Gong Yuzhi [7895 5148 0037]]

[Text] In the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)," the articles expounding the questions of intellectuals and of education, science, and culture carry a lot of weight. The book consists of 47 articles in all, about 20 of which are articles written to specially deal with or to discuss the question. The fact that the leader of the CPC Central Committee paid such immense attention to this question indicates where the strategic thinking of our party in guiding the socialist modernization lies.

Together with the other documents and articles included in "A Selection of Documents on the Question of Intellectuals," the articles in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" relating to this question represent in a concentrated way a reflection of the process and achievements of the endeavors of the leading collectives of the CPC Central Committee to bring order out of chaos in the question of intellectuals and to formulate new policies in the light of the new situation. If we continue to push this process forward and to make further advances on the already scored achievements, we will surely win complete and stable victory in this decisive struggle for our party to correct its policy toward intellectuals, a victory we failed to achieve in our previous struggles. The CPC Central Committee has made up its mind to strive for this victory. This is because this victory is the need of the objective situation. Without this victory, our party can hardly lead the Chinese people in realizing the great objective of the socialist modernization program.

#### History in Retrospect

In order to have a profound understanding of the significance of the expositions on intellectuals in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," it is necessary to briefly review the history of our party's policy and work toward intellectuals.

In summing up the historical experiences, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" stressed

a statement which carries a lot of weight, saying: "We must firmly eradicate such gross fallacies as the denigration of education, science, and culture and discrimination against intellectuals, fallacies which had long existed and found extreme expression during the 'Great Cultural Revolution.'" The report of the 12th CPC National Congress also said: "In the past, owing to the influence of 'leftist' ideas and the small-producer mentality, erroneous views such as underestimation of the importance of education, science, and culture and discrimination against intellectuals were rife in our party over a fairly long time."

How long did such erroneous views, mentioned as having "long existed," actually exist in the past?

If we trace back to the early history of our party, it must be pointed out that there were already expressions of underestimating the importance of education, science, and culture and of discriminating against intellectuals in the democratic revolution in which the party committed "leftist" mistakes three times. In the decision to "Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals" which was drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1939 for the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong said that during the agrarian revolution, party organizations "in many localities and army units adopted an incorrect attitude toward the intellectuals." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 583) After citing all kinds of manifestations of the ultraleftist policies pursued in the later stage of the agrarian revolution, the article "On Policy" pointed out that one of them was "the attack on the intellectuals." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 720) After the third set of "leftist" mistakes committed in the agrarian revolution were corrected, things changed considerably. However, in spite of this, mistakes of one kind or another were still committed in the real work toward intellectuals for a certain time. From the point of view of studying the history of our party, the formation and roots of the mistakes committed by party organizations during the period of the democratic revolution and the struggle waged and the experience gained by party organizations in correcting these mistakes are a topic which should be further explored and studied. The mistakes committed during the period of the democratic revolution were related to those committed during the period of socialism to a certain extent, and, therefore, this study is still of immediate significance.

However, in the course of the democratic revolution, and during the initial stage of the CPC and of the period of the great revolution in China, and, in particular, on the eve of the war of resistance against Japan following the Zunyi meeting, and during the period of the war of resistance against Japan and of the liberation war in China, our party's policy toward intellectuals and work among them were, generally speaking, correct and successful. Large groups of intellectuals played a vanguard role and served as a link in the revolution. A great part of them were recruited as members of the CPC and they were tempered in the practice of the protracted revolutionary struggles to become the advanced fighters of the proletariat. The broad masses of intellectuals were tending toward progress, toward the revolution, and toward our party with each passing day, and, with great enthusiasm, they greeted the victory of the revolutionary war led by our

party and hailed the arrival of new China. Compared to the situation in the early days of the October Revolution, in which the majority of Russian intellectuals, both senior and intermediate, were hostile to or skeptical about the revolution, this situation formed a sharp contrast. Naturally, this was the result of differences in times and historical backgrounds between the two countries, and at the same time, this also represented the great victory of our party's correct policy toward intellectuals and its protracted work among them.

By the fallacies pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," such as the denigration of education, science, and culture and the discrimination against intellectuals, fallacies which "had long existed," we refer mainly to fallacies which have existed since the founding of the PRC. In the various historical stages after the founding of the PRC, the gravity of these fallacies varied considerably. Generally speaking, prior to 1956, the "leftist" mistakes toward intellectuals had existed; they developed to a serious extent after the broadening of the scope of struggle against bourgeois rightists in 1957 and they found extreme expression during the "Great Cultural Revolution." These fallacies have gravely impaired the relations between our party and intellectuals and undermined our socialist political, economic, and cultural construction. Their consequences and pernicious influence have, up to now, become a serious obstacle to the smooth advance of our cause, an obstacle which we should exert herculean efforts to eradicate and overcome.

Of course, we must also see that in the first 7 years following the founding of the PRC, our party continued to make great achievements in its policy and work toward intellectuals. Closely rallying around our party, the vast numbers of intellectuals enthusiastically studied Marxism, the theories and history of the Chinese revolution, and the new idea of serving the people wholeheartedly, remolded the old ideas which did not tally with the interests of the people, energetically plunged themselves into the various social reforms and construction undertakings, and thus made great progress and important contributions in this respect.

In the course of handling the emergence and development of the "leftist" mistakes in the question of intellectuals, our party has made repeated endeavors to struggle against the "leftist" mistakes. Divided in accordance with historical stages, the endeavors could be summarized into the following three struggles:

The first struggle waged by the party to meet the needs of the situation in which the country would very soon usher in the era of overall socialist construction and, in the meantime, to counter some "leftist" mistakes existing in the actual work in the first several years following the founding of the PRC started with the CPC Central Committee holding a conference on the question of intellectuals in 1956 and ended with the delivery of Comrade Zhou Enlai's report at the conference on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and with the promulgation of the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, a policy which Comrade Mao Zedong announced on behalf of the CPC Central Committee.<sup>1</sup>

The second struggle to counter the "leftist" mistakes that began to seriously develop after the broadening of the scope of struggle against bourgeois rightists started with Comrade Mao Zedong's written instruction criticizing the preference for leaning to the "left" rather than to the right in treating intellectuals and ended with the formulation of the policy regulations concerning science, education, and literature and art and with the delivery of the speeches made by Comrades Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi, and Nie Rongzhen at the conference on science and literature and art which was held in Guangzhou in 1962 and the exposition of the policy toward intellectuals in the government work report delivered by Comrade Zhou Enlai at the Second Session of the Third NPC.<sup>2</sup>

The third struggle refers to the struggle reflected in the expositions on intellectuals in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and in "A Collection of Documents on the Question of Intellectuals." This struggle to counter the "leftist" mistakes which found extreme expression during the "Great Cultural Revolution" started with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's personal handling of readjustment work in 1975 and, through numerous complications, ended with the delivery of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech at the national conference on science which was held after the smashing of the "gang of four," with the systematic bringing of order out of chaos in the question of intellectuals since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and with the delivery of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the meeting in commemoration of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx.

The previous two struggles corrected or restricted the "leftist" mistakes for a certain period to a certain extent. They enabled the broad numbers of intellectuals to continue to play their important role in the decade-long socialist construction prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." But these struggles could hardly be carried through to the end. With the outbreak of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the achievements of these struggles were discarded and even branded as "revisionist." Taking advantage of the mistakes in our party's leadership, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques seriously wronged and persecuted the intellectuals. However, with the flesh-and-blood ties, formed in the protracted revolutionary struggles, between our party and intellectuals and because, like them, core party members at various levels suffered misfortune, "most of the intellectuals who had been wronged and persecuted," just as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," said: "did not waver in their love for the motherland and in their support for the party and socialism."

After the smashing of the "gang of four" and, in particular, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, big advances were made and practical successes achieved steadily in the third struggle. Different from the previous struggles, changes have taken place in the whole situation of this struggle, with the party having completed the task of setting things to rights in its whole guiding ideology by means of summing up historical experiences, and thus a new, victorious chapter has also been opened in the annals of our party's policy toward intellectuals. Of course, many problems remain unsolved in this connection at present. The

task of implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals is still arduous. Nevertheless, under the leadership of our party, the immediate arrival of a new situation is in the offing, in which, respected as the masters of our country and society and like the workers and peasants, the intellectuals will be in a position to give full play to their role and the three sections of socialist laborers--the workers, peasants, and intellectuals--will unite as one and make concerted efforts to struggle for socialist modernization.

### Steps of Advance

Now let us observe and study the steps of advance in the struggle to correct the party's policy toward intellectuals, a struggle which is reflected in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

It was still in 1975 that Comrade Deng Xiaoping had taken this question as one of the all-round rectification priorities. In a clear-cut way, he pointed out: There is a crisis in education with students taking no interest in studying and this can be a drag on the four modernizations. Scientific research has lagged behind and it should anticipate all our endeavors to accelerate the four modernizations. Consequently, while readjusting the policy on education, science, and culture and restoring the normal order in industrial production, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the question of correcting the party's policy toward intellectuals. In the then situation, he had, on many occasions, to cite Comrade Mao Zedong's remark saying "we can't do without number nine" to expound the truth that scientific and technical personnel and intellectuals should not be discriminated against. This remark was naturally not thorough, but with its aim being to correct ultra-"leftism," it provided support, in the final analysis, to the readjustment in this respect. With the aid of the remark, the work of correcting the policy toward intellectuals took a significant step forward.

However, later on Comrade Mao Zedong could not bear to accept the systematic correction of the errors of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and triggered the movement to "counter the right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts." It is reported that one of the grave "crimes" of the "right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts" was to oppose the remodeling of bourgeois intellectuals by keeping to the stand of the bourgeois intellectuals and it was also reported that large numbers of intellectuals had not been remolded satisfactorily. Such kinds of intellectuals were thus declared to be the major "reason" for the necessity of sticking to the assertion that "class struggle is the key link in everything."

Shortly after the smashing of the "gang of four," when Comrade Deng Xiaoping had not yet resumed his work, correcting the policy toward intellectuals once again became one of the central issues which he paid attention to. Composed of two important parts, the speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on 24 May 1977, which was included in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," was collated into two articles, that is, "The 'Two Whatevers' Do Not Comply With Marxism" and "Respect Knowledge, Respect Talent." In the

latter article, with a broad and long-term view, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must create an atmosphere in the party of respecting knowledge and talent. We must oppose the erroneous idea of failure to respect intellectuals. Both mental and physical labor are labor. People engaged in mental labor are laborers too." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 38) If we say this remark of Comrade Deng Xiaoping represents a new start in our endeavors to correct the policy toward intellectuals after the smashing of the "gang of four," then it will be more significant than the one made in 1975.

In July 1977, the 3d Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee decided to reinstate Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his former posts both inside and outside the party. In his speech at the session, to counter the view of the "two whatevers," he expounded the necessity of grasping Mao Zedong Thought as a whole and accurately, and did so by particularly taking the question of intellectuals as the first example. He volunteered to take care of the work in science and education and to personally handle the question of intellectuals. One important reason for his doing so was that he had come to realize the strategic importance of the question in the modernization program and the arduousness of correcting the longstanding "leftist" mistakes in this question. He made up his mind to use his own experience, wisdom, and authority in leading and promoting the whole party in striding forward on this question.

The key step in striding forward at that time was to thoroughly solve the question of the "two appraisals." The so-called "two appraisals" referred to the two political conclusions in the 1971 "Summary of the National Work Conference on Education," that is, on the educational front of the 17 years prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat and the "sinister line held sway in everything" and, being basically bourgeois in their world outlook, the majority of intellectuals were bourgeois intellectuals.

In August and September 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave two important talks, namely, "Some Suggestions on Work in Science and Education" and "The Question of Straightening Things Out on the Educational Front." The central issue of these two talks was to reverse the "two appraisals."

It must be pointed out that it was while the "Summary" was still in the process of being formulated that the cadres and intellectuals on the educational front had doubted and resisted the "two appraisals." It was only a month after the authorized dispatch of the "Summary" that Lin Biao committed treason. While the movement to criticize Lin Biao was being carried out intensively, the "Summary" had become the subject of much discussion among many cadres and intellectuals who regarded it as the product of the Lin Biao ultra-"leftist" line. However, when the "gang of four" was still rampant, these doubts and comments were all along subject to suppression and criticism. When the movement to criticize Lin Biao was shifted to the so-called criticism of the ultra-right essence of the Lin Biao line and opposition to the restoration of the right deviationist reversion, when the movement to "criticize Lin Biao and Confucius" was unfolded, and when the



campaign to "counter the right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts" was launched, the doubts about and opposition to the "two appraisals" invariably became the target of criticism on the educational front and among the intellectuals, who were asked to "make criticism with relation to their own realities." After the "gang of four" had initiated and worked out the "Summary," the "two appraisals" became two broad knives which they frequently brandished and directed at the cadres on the educational front and at the vast numbers of intellectuals.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the broad numbers of cadres and intellectuals strongly demanded that the question of the "two appraisals" be settled. However, in accordance with the guiding ideology of the "two whatevers," this question could hardly be solved, because the "Summary" was "approved" by Comrade Mao Zedong. Moreover, before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and after the broadening of the scope of struggle to oppose the rightists, this appraisal of intellectuals had been prevalent. The "Speech at the CPC's National Congress on Propaganda Work" delivered by Comrade Mao Zedong in March 1957, which was published in 1964, and some other statements of Comrade Mao Zedong were long cited to support this appraisal of intellectuals.

Therefore, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping determinedly started to solve the question of the "two appraisals," he showed a high level of political courage as a Marxist. This courage stemmed from the spirit of seeking truth from facts and from practice as well as from the voice of the masses. In his former speech, he just expounded in a positive way how to correctly appraise the achievements gained in the educational work of the 17 years following the founding of the PRC and how to correctly appraise the progress and contributions of the broad numbers of intellectuals. Later he said himself: That was "a bold speech. Of course, some consideration had been given to the real situation." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 64) In his latter speech, he flatly criticized the "two whatevers" policy as not being in accord with Marxism and went on to say: "Comrade Mao Zedong drew a circle on the 'Summary' to serve as his approval. Comrade Mao Zedong's approval by drawing a circle does not mean that there is no question of right and wrong in the 'Summary.'" ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 63) The shackles of the "two whatevers" idea were thus broken on a matter of great importance. He asked leaders of the Ministry of Education to "think independently instead of passively waiting for instructions from their higher-ups" and "not to be timid in everything and afraid of committing 'mistakes' by following me." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 65) Doing so at that time meant running risks. For the sake of the revolutionary cause, of truth, and of the interest of the party and people, Marxists are always ready to face any danger.

With the reversal of the "two appraisals," it was a relatively smooth process to make continued advances.

At the opening ceremony of the national science conference in March 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made an important speech, which served as a programmatic document for formulating the party's policy toward intellectuals in

the new period and also served as the inheritance and development of Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech at the 1956 conference on the question of intellectuals and his speech at the 1962 Guangzhou conference. Like the two speeches of Comrade Zhou Enlai, this speech of Comrade Deng Xiaoping laid emphasis on making a Marxist appraisal of the class characteristics of the vast numbers of intellectuals in China, an appraisal which conforms to reality. He said: "Generally speaking, the overwhelming majority of" Chinese intellectuals "have become intellectuals of the working class and the laboring people, and therefore can be regarded as part of the working class. The difference between them and physical workers is only a difference of the division of labor in society. Those who labor, whether by hand or by brain, are all working people in socialist society." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 86)

This Marxist appraisal is entirely different from the appraisal that put our intellectuals as a whole into the category of the bourgeoisie. The latter appraisal provided a theoretical basis for the "leftist" mistakes in dealing with intellectuals since 1957 and the former provides a theoretical basis for the party's correct policy toward intellectuals. With this understanding, and on the basis of this Marxist appraisal, our party must bring about an overall turn for the better in its policy and work toward intellectuals. "A Collection of Documents on the Question of Intellectuals" is a reflection of the tremendous efforts made by the numerous party leading comrades and working departments in all fields of endeavor to realize this overall turn for the better.

Later on, Comrade Deng Xiaoping dealt with the question of intellectuals on many occasions. His expositions on this question were shifted to a new subject. On 16 January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made an important speech entitled "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," saying: "It is necessary to have a contingent of cadres who adhere to the socialist road and possess professional knowledge and ability." He regarded this assertion as one of the four prerequisites for accomplishing the four modernizations. On 18 August 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made an important speech, "On the Reform of the Party and State Leadership System," pointing out: "Failure to attach importance to ensuring that the ranks of cadres become more knowledgeable and specialized" is "the evil consequence of the 'leftist' ideology which long existed in the question of intellectuals in the past." On 2 July 1981, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a speech entitled "The Primary Task for Veteran Cadres Is To Select Young and Middle-Aged Cadres" in which he proposed that "particular attention be paid to selecting the successors to our present leading cadres from among those who graduated from the universities in the 1960's (mainly in the 1960's)," that is, the middle-aged intellectuals. On 13 January 1982, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a speech entitled "Streamlining Government Institutions Is a Revolution" in which he further stressed that to build the ranks of young cadres who have revolutionary spirit and knowledge and who are specialized is strategically demanded by our revolution and construction, and that this work represents our veteran cadres' "last contribution to the party as well as a serious test of their party spirit." All these speeches indicate that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has focused his attention on making the shift of the focus of work



of the party and state and of the party's policy toward intellectuals manifest itself in our party's organizational and cadres lines. As far as the correction of the party's policy toward intellectuals is concerned, this effort of Comrade Deng Xiaoping was undoubtedly an extremely important step in the acceleration of the process.

#### The Crux of the Matter

The correction of the party's policy toward intellectuals is of enormous scope but what is of basic importance is a theoretical question or a political one, that is to say, should we actually regard our intellectuals as part of the working class and the laboring people or as an alien force outside the working class and the laboring people?

The policy which puts Chinese intellectuals as a whole into the category of the bourgeoisie, regards them as part of the bourgeoisie, and proceeds to regard the "bourgeois intellectuals" as the target of revolution and of attack or as the section of people among whom the policy of "criticize him and give him work to do" and of "provide him with the opportunity to earn a living" should be practiced has been proved erroneous and harmful in practice.

In correcting this error, if we remain at the stage of putting our intellectuals as a whole into the category of the bourgeoisie and continue to regard the uniting and remolding of intellectuals as entirely different from that of members of the ranks of the working class and the laboring people, while stressing not seeing intellectuals as a target of revolution and of attack, we can hardly then thoroughly correct the party's policy toward intellectuals and we will be apt to lapse into the error of taking intellectuals as an alien, hostile force. This has also been proved in our past practice.

In order to correct the party's policy toward intellectuals and to resolutely eliminate the erroneous concept of discriminating against intellectuals, it is necessary to make a Marxist appraisal of the actual conditions of Chinese intellectuals and totally to regard intellectuals as part of the working class and the laboring people.

Some people argue that the above-mentioned point of view is a newly raised one which is not commensurate with our party's traditional viewpoint and consequently they doubt it. This is not correct. Precisely to the contrary, regarding intellectuals as part of the bourgeoisie as a whole was, instead of our party's traditional viewpoint, a practice relevant after 1957 which deviated from our party's traditional viewpoint.

What is our party's traditional viewpoint then?

Let us put aside the situation in this respect during the democratic revolution period and start with the situation following the founding of the PRC.

In 1948, Comrade Mao Zedong expounded his view on many occasions that the working people who constitute the main body of China's people's revolution and people's regime meant "all those engaged in manual labor (such as workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, etc.) as well as those engaged in mental labor who are close to those engaged in manual labor and are not exploiters but are exploited." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1230) In a telegram which Comrade Mao Zedong drafted for the CPC Central Committee, he said: "The organs of state power in such a big region as Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei-Shandong must represent, rather than the peasantry alone, all toiling masses (workers, peasants, independent industrialists and businessmen, professionals, and intellectuals engaged in mental labor) and the middle class (the petite bourgeoisie, the middle bourgeoisie, and the enlightened gentry) with the toiling masses as the main body."

At the Second Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee in 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong said: Composed of two kinds of unity, China's people's dictatorship requires that we "unite the entire working class, the entire peasantry, and the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals; these are the leading and basic forces of the dictatorship" and we "unite with as many as possible of the representatives of the urban petite bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie who can cooperate with us and with their intellectuals and political groups." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, pp 1374-1375)

It can thus be seen that Comrade Mao Zedong explicitly included the "intellectuals engaged in mental labor" and the "broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals" in the category of "toiling masses" and regarded them as the main body of the people's democratic dictatorship rather than generally putting intellectuals into the category of "the bourgeoisie."

After the Second Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, in Comrade Liu Shaoqi's speech at the Tianjin conference of staff and workers and in the political report delivered by Comrade Zhou Enlai at the national conference of Chinese writers and artists and in his speech at the national working meeting on union work, the two leaders said that mental workers are an integral part of the working class. ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, pp 349, 364)

In the early days of the founding of the PRC, both in the land reform document on determining class status and in the requirements for determining trade union membership, there was a policy definition that the intellectuals hired by the state, the cooperatives, and individuals are a part of the working class.<sup>3</sup>

It was at the conference on the question of intellectuals which was held by the CPC Central Committee in 1956 and at which Comrade Zhou Enlai made a report on behalf of the CPC Central Committee that this question was settled in the most systematic way. In the past we based our assertion that intellectuals are part of the working class on the fact that they engaged in mental labor, were hired, and lived on their wages, and did not possess the means of production to exploit others. After making an analysis of the situation of the intellectuals who came from the old society, in 1956

Comrade Zhou Enlai proclaimed: "The overwhelming majority of them have become state working personnel serving socialism and a part of the working class." He made this appraisal not only on the basis of the above-mentioned aspects but also by way of relating the changes in our country since its founding and the relationship between intellectuals and our country, of relating the progress these intellectuals made politically and ideologically, and of relating the fact that they had served socialism and the working people. Related to the previous judgments, this appraisal gave consideration to the new situation and summarized new contents. The conference on the question of intellectuals also criticized the tendency toward lacking vigilance and excessive accommodation on the question of intellectuals, with the focus of criticism mainly on the sectarian tendency toward intellectuals. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: The root cause of this sectarian tendency lies in our underestimation of the tremendous political progress made by the intelligentsia and in "failure to realize that they are part of the working class."

After the serious broadening of the scope of the antirightist struggle, together with the previous stipulations for determining class status and setting up trade unions, this appraisal was discarded. As a consequence, intellectuals were included as a whole in the category of the bourgeoisie.

The above-mentioned written remarks made by Comrade Mao Zedong at the end of 1958 on "correcting our orientation" in handling the question of intellectuals were written to counter the view of some comrades in the party who argued: "In the period of socialist revolution, intellectuals are the target of revolution," "because the overwhelming majority of them are bourgeois intellectuals." However, none of these written remarks and the subsequent regulations on scientific, educational, and literary and art work clearly restored the judgment that intellectuals are part of the working class.<sup>4</sup>

In his speech at the Guangzhou conference in 1962, with great daring and resolution, Comrade Zhou Enlai resolutely restored our party's traditional appraisal of intellectuals. In expounding the two kinds of alliance which the Chinese working class formed in the course of revolution, Comrade Zhou Enlai said: One is its alliance with other working laborers and the other is its alliance with the national bourgeoisie, with the latter being an alliance with nonworking people. The alliance with the national bourgeoisie naturally included the intellectuals belonging to this class. Generally speaking, the alliance with intellectuals belongs, however, to the one with other working laborers. Comrade Zhou Enlai specially quoted a remark from Lenin, which Comrade Liu Shaoqi had cited in his report delivered at the First Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee, saying: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous nonproletarian strata of the working people (petite bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, pp 343-344) The proletariat as referred here by Lenin meant the proletariat in a narrow sense, that is, the industrial workers doing manual labor. In his

explanation concerning the "nonproletarian strata of the working people" there were intellectuals included. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: These two kinds of alliance constitute our strategic principle which should be taken as the key link in appraising our intellectuals. When compared with Comrade Mao Zedong's expositions we cited above on the two kinds of unity and on the toiling masses, including intellectuals, constituting the main body of the people's regime, how identical these expositions of Comrade Zhou Enlai were!

Shortly after the delivery of his speech at the Guangzhou conference, in his government work report at the Second Session of the Third NPC, Comrade Zhou Enlai once again affirmed that the overwhelming majority of Chinese intellectuals have become "intellectuals belonging to the working people" rather than "intellectuals belonging to the bourgeoisie," thus restoring in essence the appraisal which was made at the 1956 conference on the question of intellectuals and discarded for a time. The government work report was approved by the CPC Central Committee.

It can thus be seen that this appraisal was precisely our party's traditional Marxist viewpoint. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has just upheld, restored, and developed this traditional Marxist viewpoint of our party on intellectuals and required us to resolutely correct all erroneous ideas which deviate from this tradition.

In this article, I have observed and studied the background and origin of the expositions on intellectuals in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" only in matters in connection with the literature of history, and I am going to probe into this question from the angle of ideological and theoretical fields in my next article.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Prior to the convening of the conference on intellectuals, in order to correct the "leftist" mistakes in the treatment of intellectuals, a lot of work had been done. For example, the instructions written by the CPC Central Committee on 8 March 1954 on the report submitted to it by the party group of the Chinese Academy of Sciences systematically expounding the party's policy of uniting with, attaching importance to, and respecting intellectuals, and constituted one of the important documents which correctly explained the party's policy toward intellectuals in the early stage of the founding of the PRC. In countering some crude practices in the campaign to remold people's ideology, this document pointed out: "It is true that we must also conduct necessary ideological education among scientists but it must be carried out in a protracted and patient way and in a way respecting their scientific work and giving play to their initiative for scientific research instead of injuring their self-respect. The phenomena in which scientists are discriminated against politically and their working and living conditions are not ensured can still be found at present in some localities in varying degrees. This state of affairs will not be allowed to

continue and must be changed resolutely. The Academy of Sciences, all institutes of higher education, big hospitals, and all enterprises and establishments where scientists work must pay attention to this question."

The People's Publishing House published in a separate edition the report made by Comrade Zhou Enlai on 14 January 1956, a report entitled "The Report on the Question of Intellectuals."

At the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee which was held on 25 April 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered a speech entitled "On the 10 Major Relationships." The policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was formulated while the CPC Central Committee was discussing the 10 major relationships. At the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau on 18 April, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" must become, as I see it, our policy, that is to say, on the question of art, let a hundred flowers bloom and on the question of academic matters, let a hundred schools of thought contend. In the third speech Comrade Mao Zedong delivered at the supreme state conference on 2 May, he again dealt with this policy. Comrade Lu Dingyi, director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, made a speech on "Letting a Hundred Flowers Bloom and Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" to scientific and literary and art circles on 26 May, systematically expounding this policy of the CPC Central Committee. This policy was introduced to counter a number of "leftist" mistakes existing in the academic and literary and art criticism unfolded in the previous few years.

2. This written instruction of Comrade Mao Zedong was written to Comrade Lu Dingyi, director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, on 22 December 1958 on material written by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee to report the case in which the party branch of a university inclined to the "left" and not to the right in dealing with intellectuals. Comrade Mao Zedong wrote: "I propose this material be printed and distributed among the party committees, general party branches, and party branches of the institutions of higher education all over the country and that they read and discuss it so as to correct their direction in handling the question of intellectuals and to win over all professors, lecturers, assistants, and research personnel who may be won over so that they can serve the proletarian educational and scientific undertakings. What's your view on this matter? This material should also be distributed among the party committees and party branches of the literary and art organizations, of the newspaper and magazine offices, and of publishing organizations for discussion. Please weigh the above proposals and see if they are practicable."

One common central issue of such policy regulations as the 10-item regulations for scientific work, the 60-item regulations for the educational work in the institutions of higher education, and the 8-item

regulations for literary and art work was to correct the "leftist" mistakes in dealing with intellectuals. In approving Comrade Nie Rongzhen's "Report for Instructions on Several Problems in the Work of Natural Science" and the "'Draft' 14-Item Proposals on the Current Work of Natural Scientific Research Organizations," formulated by the party groups of the State Scientific and Technological Commission and of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the CPC Central Committee wrote remarks on them, saying: "Making the work among intellectuals a success is of extreme importance. Our party has always attached importance to the work among intellectuals and formulated a series of correct policies and worked out meticulous work methods, thus making tremendous achievements and gaining rich experience in this respect. However, over the last few years, quite a number of comrades have a one-sided understanding and have adopted simplistic and crude methods in dealing with knowledge and intellectuals. This state of affairs warrants our serious attention. We should correct our orientation in this respect so as to correctly implement the party's policies." The remarks also demanded all units sort out the cases in which intellectuals were repudiated for a period in the past. "Those who were wrongly repudiated or partly wrongly repudiated must have their cases corrected by discriminating facts and distinguishing between right and wrong, and the responsible cadres of the party must explain their cases in a clear and proper way. The labels wrongly put on some intellectuals must be taken off with the aim of dispelling the misunderstanding in their minds, developing democracy, and strengthening unity among them." By sorting out and rehabilitating wrong cases at that time, we referred to the cases in the criticism campaign carried out after 1958 and the question of sorting out and rehabilitating the unjustifiable cases in the antirightist struggle had not yet been raised at that time.

3. The "Decision on Several Problems Arising in the Land Reform" promulgated by the Ruijin democratic central government in 1933 pointed out: "The intellectuals who are not exploiters, such as teachers, editorial personnel, journalists, office clerks, writers, and artists, belong to the category of mental workers. It is also wrong not to regard the work of a teacher or a doctor as labor."

In 1950 the government administration council of the central people's government repromulgated the 1933 decision with some additional regulations: "Those who work for hire in the organizations, enterprises, and schools run by the state, the cooperatives, or individuals and who live entirely or mainly on their wages are called staff members, who comprise part of the working class." "Those intellectuals with specialized skills or specialized knowledge who work for hire in the organizations, enterprises, and schools run by the state, the cooperatives, or individuals and who are engaged in mental labor and live entirely or mainly on their high wages, such as engineers, professors, and specialists are called senior staff members, whose class status is the same as that of ordinary staff members."

The trade union law promulgated by the central people's government in 1950 stipulates: "All workers, both manual and mental, and workers with no definite employers who work for hire in all enterprises, organizations, and schools in China and take their wages as the entire or partial source of their means of subsistence have the right to organize a trade union." It also stipulates that all industrial trade unions include the trade unions of cultural and educational workers and of government functionaries.

4. The 64th article of the (draft) work regulations concerning state-run industrial enterprises approved by the CPC Central Committee on 16 September 1961 stipulates: "Technical personnel and staff members are part of the working class."

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UPHOLD THE TRUTH AND FEAR NOTHING--THOUGHTS ON STUDYING 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

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[Article by Lu Ding [7627 0002]]

[Text] Historical and practical experiences have proved that while formulating or implementing a correct line, we should expeditiously and correctly carry out ideological struggle between two lines. In other words, while opposing the "leftist" erroneous trends, we should also oppose the rightist erroneous trends. Without carrying out struggle against these two erroneous trends and thoroughly overcoming them, it is impossible to formulate and implement the correct line. Since 1975, the correct leadership of our party has been represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Since that time, particularly since the smashing of the "gang of four" Comrade Deng Xiaoping has reestablished our party's Marxist line and carried out unswerving and successful struggle to oppose the "leftist" and rightist trends on the two fronts. During the period from the 3d Plenary Session to the 12th CPC National Congress, our party has successfully effected an historically great change, accomplished the task of bringing order out of chaos on guiding thought, and scored great success in various work. All these are inseparable from the prompt and correct efforts of Comrade Deng Xiaoping to give impetus to, and guide the entire party to carry out struggle on the two fronts.

During the new historical period, how does Comrade Deng Xiaoping carry out the two-line struggle? I have gained the following understanding through studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping":

1. Comrade Deng Xiaoping upholds the truth, is bold in carrying out struggle and has fearless political and theoretical courage.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a thoroughgoing materialist. Confronted with the truth, he is fearless and undaunted. This has been markedly shown in the issue of criticizing the "two whatevers" and proposing the idea of "upholding four basic principles." In our party, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was the first person who rose to oppose the "two whatevers." The essence of the "two whatevers" was to persist in the "leftist" mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years. Opposing the "two whatevers" was



much more difficult than arresting members of the "gang of four." For a long period in the past, people always regarded Comrade Mao Zedong as the embodiment of truth. "Comrade Mao Zedong also made mistakes"--this was truly inconceivable to the broad masses of cadres and people. During the "Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" developed the personality cult to an excessive level. Mao Zedong was regarded as a deity. Whoever cast the slightest doubt upon it was treated as a "criminal." After the smashing of the "gang of four," such a personality cult was retained. Apart from that, a new personality cult was created. For instance, if Comrade Mao Zedong said the "people's army," nobody was allowed to say the "proletarian army"; if Comrade Hua Guofeng said the "new historical period," nobody was allowed to say the "new historical conditions." Under such an atmosphere and situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping resolutely opposed the "two whatevers," and incisively pointed out: "The 'two whatevers' does not conform with Marxism." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 35. Hereinafter, when passages are quoted from the "Works," only the page number will be mentioned.) What dauntless political and theoretical courage! By opposing the "two whatevers," Comrade Deng Xiaoping has grasped the essence of bringing order out of chaos and reestablishing the correct line of Marxism. His criticism of the "two whatevers" has marked the beginning of an important turning point in the history of our party. His criticism of the "two whatevers" has encouraged people to smash the great shackles of personality cult and dogmatism, to emancipate their minds, study the new situation, and explore new problems so that our party regains a new vitality. Thereafter, the discussion on truth criterion, which was extensively carried out throughout the country and played a great role, progressed and developed along the orientation charted by Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

This was one aspect of the problem. However, things were never plain sailing. In the process of criticizing the "two whatevers" and correcting mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong during his later years, a handful of people in the society and party went so far as to cast doubt upon and oppose Mao Zedong Thought. In connection with this, they also cast doubt upon and opposed Mao Zedong Thought. In connection with this, they also cast doubt upon and opposed the socialist system, the party leadership, the proletarian leadership and so forth. Such a rightist ideological trend, or the trend of bourgeois liberalization, ran amuck and created quite a stir under the banner of "emancipating the minds." It even created disturbances and increased trouble. While devoting his main efforts to correct the "leftist" mistakes committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Deng Xiaoping paid close attention to the occurrence and development of such rightist ideological trends. Shortly after the third plenary session, he promptly proposed the idea that "we should uphold the four basic principles in order to realize the four modernizations." In other words, we should uphold the socialist road, the proletarian dictatorship, the party leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: To emancipate the minds, we should not deviate from the track of the four basic principles. He said: "If we shake any of these four basic principles, we will shake the entire socialist cause and the entire modernization program." (p 159) These four basic principles are the consistent principles of our party. They are not new things.

However, when they were reiterated and stressed at that time, they were directed against the defects of the times. It was a matter of great significance. We should say that this was a dauntless act of Comrade Deng Xiaoping. At that time, when he advocated the idea of upholding the four basic principles, quite a number of people raised objections and resisted him. Some people said that proposing the idea of upholding the four basic principles was tantamount to "shooting at random." Some people even said that the four basic principles were like the "four big sticks." Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the CPC Central Committee took a firm stand with regard to this matter of cardinal principle and refused to yield an inch. It was precisely because of the firm stand of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the CPC Central Committee, and their efforts to do in-depth and painstaking work, that many comrades who were leaning to the right woke up. The four basic principles are the common political basis for the unity of people of various nationalities throughout the country and a fundamental guarantee for the realization of the socialist modernization. If Comrade Deng Xiaoping had not promptly proposed the idea of "upholding the four basic principles" and had let the ideological trend of casting doubt upon, and opposing the four basic principles spread unchecked, what would our party have become? What would our country have become? This did not bear thinking about. Comrade Deng Xiaoping showed great foresight and could see how things would develop from the first small beginnings. He expeditiously sounded the alarm and heightened the vigilance and consciousness of the entire party and people throughout the country. This has ensured that our cause will progress forever along the orientation and path of socialism.

Our entire party has clearly seen that Comrade Deng Xiaoping was the earliest to rise and oppose the "leftist" mistakes and the rightist mistakes as well. Under the guidance of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the line of the 3d Plenary Session and the 12th CPC National Congress has been gradually established and developed.

2. Comrade Deng Xiaoping is open, aboveboard, and selfless and has regarded the struggle against the "leftist" and rightist mistakes as the starting point and end-result of the greatest interests of the party and people.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has always put daring above everything else and shown dauntless spirit whether in the struggle against the "leftist" or the rightist deviations. Where has such a spirit come from? In a word, it is because he is selfless. With regard to people who are truly selfless, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "They are dauntless because they are selfless." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 132) Comrade Deng Xiaoping is such a person. The greatest interests of the party and people are the norm of his ideas and acts. They are also the norm of his struggle against the "leftist" and rightist mistakes. He has repeatedly stressed that we should take the whole situation into account and that we should value the overall interests of the party and state. Under no circumstances should we violate the basic interests of the party and people. His deeds suit his words. Since the truth conforms with the interests of the party and people, we should uphold it and stick to it unequivocally. Since mistakes are not in accord with the interests of the party and people, we should

criticize and correct them unequivocally. Proceeding from such understanding, Comrade Deng Xiaoping dares to criticize and correct the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong. He also dares to defend and stick to the truth discovered by Comrade Mao Zedong. Truth remains truth and mistakes remain mistakes. There should be equivocation about them. The "leftist" tendency of totally affirming Comrade Mao Zedong and the rightist tendency of totally negating Comrade Mao Zedong are acts of obscuring the demarcation line between the truth and mistakes. They have violated the interests of the party and people. Although the "leftist" or "rightist" erroneous trend is sometimes fierce in appearance, they are feeble in essence and cannot stand the test of time because they are contrary to the facts and run counter to the interests of the party and people. "The greatest interests of the broadest masses of people should be regarded as the maximum standard of truth." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 350) They are also the source of strength for defeating various mistakes. From Comrade Deng Xiaoping's dauntless spirit of opposing the "leftist" and rightist mistakes, we further realize such profound truth.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Deng Xiaoping was severely attacked and persecuted. However, he gave no thought to his personal sufferings. Proceeding from the greatest interests of the party and people, he opposed the "two whatevers." What was uppermost in his mind was the future and destiny of the state and nation. He was the first to propose the idea and call on people to "emancipate the minds." He pointed out: "If a party, a state, or a nation proceeds in all cases from bookishness, it will be ideologically ossified, and pursue the personality cult. Under such circumstances, it will no longer make progress and its vitality will be lost. This will ruin our party and state." (p 133) Such inference represents the truth of our times and reflects the greatest interests of the party and people. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's purpose in opposing the "two whatevers" is to correct Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes committed during his later years. He upheld Mao Zedong Thought, maintaining that "Mao Zedong Thought is always the most valuable spiritual wealth of the entire party, army and people of various nationalities throughout the country." (p 139) He sticks to the principle advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, because he proceeds in all cases from the greatest interests of the party and people. Most people unanimously acknowledge that Comrade Deng Xiaoping is openhearted and above-board. In the struggle to oppose the erroneous trends, if he had acted impetuously, or proceeded from his personal or factional interests rather than from the interests of the party and people, he would have been unable to be objective and fair. He would have distorted facts and truth and gone astray. There have always been such lessons in history and in our practical life. We should take warning from them.

The two-line struggle waged by Comrade Deng Xiaoping to oppose the "leftist" and rightist mistakes has won extensive support and has been praised by people inside and outside the party. This has played a decisive role in unifying the thinking of the entire party and people throughout the country. The main reason is that his viewpoints and ideas have reflected and

represented the interests and desires of the broad masses of people. Engels pointed out: "The less scrupulous and selfish a science is, the more it will conform with the interests and aspirations of the workers." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 254) In the two-line struggle, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has conscientiously and truly adhered to such Marxist principles.

3. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has stuck to the scientific spirit and comprehensiveness of Marxism to restore and carry forward our party's fine traditions of opposing the erroneous trends.

Opposing the "leftist" and rightist erroneous trends is an important guarantee for formulating and implementing the correct line. How should the two-line struggle be correctly carried out? In a word, we should stick to the scientific spirit of comprehensiveness of Marxism. This is our party's fine tradition for opposing the erroneous trends. In the two-line struggle carried out in recent years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping and our party have not only restored but also promoted it.

In the long-term two-line struggle, our party has drawn both positive and negative lessons. Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: The two-line struggle is mainly and basically an ideological struggle. Therefore, we can only adopt the method of "learning from the past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," or the method of "unity-criticism-unity." Such a method was proposed in order to counter Wang Ming's method of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows." This is the only correct method which is in accord with the rule of the two-line struggle. Our party always adopted such a method whether in the Zunyi meeting or the party rectification in Yanan and whether in the 7th CPC National Congress or the 8th CPC National Congress. However, starting from the late 1950's, we gradually departed from that correct method. In particular, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," we adopted the method of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows," which was more serious than that taken during the period of Wang Ming. Such erroneous acts severely harmed a great number of comrades. This was a bitter experience. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: We should learn a lesson from the past experience and avoid sticking to the old way. However, the weapon of criticism should not be discarded. We should master it well. By making use of dialectics, scientifically summing up historical lessons and experiences of the two-line struggle, he has put forth (or reiterated) a series of correct principles and methods for carrying out the two-line struggle. This has greatly enriched and developed our party's political and theoretical principles for carrying out the two-line struggle.

1. We should see things in an all-round way and should on no account let one tendency conceal another. Actually, this is a principle proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong. However, during the socialist period, due to the fact that he always emphasized opposing the right deviation, this principle was not truly implemented. While opposing the "leftist" deviation, we should prevent the rightist deviation and vice versa. This is a correct principle. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and with the convening of the

third plenary session in particular, this principle has been truly implemented. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out: "The idea of emancipating the mind put forth by the third plenary session is aimed at opposing the 'two whatevers.' Our emphasis is placed on correcting the 'leftist' mistakes. Later, since the rightist deviation has also occurred, we should, naturally, correct it." He adds: "The idea of opposing and negating the four basic principles comes both from the 'left' and from the right," and "while criticizing the 'leftist' erroneous idea, we should also criticize the rightist one." (pp 334 and 335) Such an all-round viewpoint and ideas have educated and guided people not to go from one extreme to the other, and not to use one form of one-sidedness to oppose the other. All these are important conditions for ensuring the victory of the two-line struggle.

2. We should adopt a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and avoid "demanding conformity in everything" and launching political movements. Comrade Deng Xiaoping says: "We should oppose the 'leftist' mistake when there is any and oppose the rightist mistakes when they occur." He stresses: Whether opposing the "leftist" or rightist mistakes, "we should not criticize them randomly from the higher plane of 'principle' and ask everyone to make a self-criticism so as to pass the test. We should not launch a political movement." (pp 334, 336) This is an important principle which is established to correct the previous mistaken act. In other words, we should oppose an erroneous trend when there is one in light of practical conditions in various fields and regions. In other words, if we adopt the method of mass movement rather than the method of presenting the facts and reasoning things out, we will never succeed in solving the problem of erroneous trends. Such a method will not be beneficial to making a specific analysis of the problems concerned and achieving the objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. Does this mean that it is unnecessary to follow the mass line in the two-line struggle? The answer is no. "We should follow the mass line in doing everything." (p 107) While carrying out the two-line struggle, we should, of course, follow the mass line. However, the mass line and mass movement are not the same things and should not be lumped together. Conducting criticism and self-criticism means a mass line in the two-line struggle. In other words, it is the main and fundamental means of following the mass line in the two-line struggle.

3. While preventing and correcting the "leftist" and rightist mistakes, we should not take a defensive stop-gap measure alone. We should settle the problem once and for all. In other words, we should study the Marxist philosophy and establish the proletarian world outlook. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out: "Comrade Chen Yun said: Shortly after the war of resistance against Japan, he returned to Yanan from Moscow. Comrade Mao Zedong talked to him on three occasions concerning the study of philosophy and particularly stressed the necessity of seeking truth from facts. Comrade Chen Yun felt that he was greatly benefited by the talks. At present, some people comment on things based on superficial phenomenon. This is because they have no solid foundation in both theory and practice. Only by laying a solid foundation can we truly correct our mistakes, including the 'leftist' and rightist mistakes. During the period of party rectification in Yanan or during the periods when we exerted our efforts to oppose

subjectivism, sectarianism, and party jargon, we solved the fundamental problems rather than the minor ones." (p 337) This is a profound idea of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, which has hit the vital point concerning comrades who commit the "leftist" and rightist mistakes: They bend with the wind because of their shaky foundation. Comrade Mao Zedong also said that the "leftist" and rightist mistakes were characterized by the separation between subjectivity and objectivity on the one hand and between understanding and practice on the other. To correct and overcome the "leftist" and rightist mistakes, we should study and master Marxist world outlook characterized by the specific historical unity between subjectivity and objectivity on the one hand and theories and practice on the other. This is also the main content of the Marxist world outlook. Only in so doing can we truly understand the law of historical development of the society and consciously stand at the side of the broad masses of people. Only thus can we have firm belief and correct ideas and avoid being shaken by erroneous things. The fundamental reason why Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other veteran revolutionaries stand lofty and firm in the two-line struggle is that they have solidly established the proletarian world outlook. This is a point that all of us should learn from.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a model of correctly carrying out the two-line struggle. His theories and practice concerning the two-line struggle are valuable wealth of our party. They were, and are now, of guiding significance. They will remain so in the future. The struggle as to whether we should uphold or oppose the four basic principles has not yet ended. It is a protracted task to carry out the two-line struggle. Such struggle runs through various spheres and aspects. Of course, the content and forms of the two-line struggle in various spheres and aspects are not the same. This should not be neglected. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's dauntless spirit of upholding the truth in the two-line struggle is of universal significance. We should fully understand and seriously study it in the practice of the two-line struggle.

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## MARX' UNDERSTANDING AND CRITICISM OF HUMANITARIANISM

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[Text] An important question in the discussion of whether Marxist humanitarianism exists is: What is the actual relationship between humanitarianism and Marx, the initiator of Marxism? Some comrades hold that when he first became a Marxist, Marx affirmed humanitarianism, and though he never again adopted the term humanitarianism, he had always affirmed it in essence in his thinking. It is our view that when Marx affirmed humanitarianism, Marxism had not come into formation; but as soon as Marxism was established, he adopted a critical attitude toward the ideological system of humanitarianism until he passed away. We shall discuss our view of this in the following.

### I

Marx was the greatest thinker in human history. The essentials of his ideology--the formation of Marxism also went through the process of development; namely, from idealism through the half-completed materialism of Feuerbach to thorough materialism, from revolutionary democratism through communism with some utopian elements, to scientific communism.

In the early stage of the development of his ideology, Marx did once (chiefly in 1844) regard the communism he understood as humanitarianism. For instance: In "Manuscript of Economy--Philosophy" written between April and October 1844, Marx said that his theory was different from materialist humanitarianism. In the book "Holy Family," written by Marx and Engels in September that year, Marx called his doctrine "genuine humanitarianism." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 27, p 7) The occurrence of such a condition was chiefly affected by the humanism of Feuerbach, and was at the same time related to the traditional influence of humanitarianism in the ideological trends in utopian socialism and communism. In his letter to Feuerbach on 11 August 1844, he said: It is "you who have provided a philosophical basis for socialism, on which communists have immediately understood your works." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 7, p 450) This illustrates that despite the fact that



Marx' ideological development had already surpassed Feuerbach at that time, getting closer and closer to the discovery of historical materialism and scientific communism, he did not actually draw a line against Feuerbach's humanism on basic principle, nor did he draw a line between utopian socialism and communism; therefore, he was unable to differentiate humanitarianism from the scientific communism he was forming.

What is humanitarianism? As a social ideological trend, the birth and development of humanitarianism corresponded to the birth and development of capitalism in Western Europe. Humanitarianism first took its appearance in Italy during the European renaissance in the 14th century, later spreading to Western Europe and other parts of the world. Its basic idea is to observe and judge everything with man as the center, with human society regarded as the gathering of isolated individuals, and social history the individual activities governed by some abstract human nature. In the early stage of its development, humanitarianism did bring about an ideological and cultural movement against the reactionary rule of the feudal nobles, landlords, and the church. Directed against the feudal system and the oppression of the church against man, and the rule of heaven over the earth, humanitarianism called on people to return to the human world, back to nature, and make the object of worship and admiration change from God to man himself, and the significance of life from heaven to earth. Humanitarianism attached great importance to the value of the individual, safeguarding the dignity and privilege of the individual, and the emancipation of individuality, so that the individual might fully enjoy free development, and also leniency toward others, and so on. During the 17th and 18th centuries, during the period of bourgeois revolution, humanitarianism adopted the form of "natural rights," and further put forth the political slogan of "liberty, equality, and universal fraternity," which became the theoretical expression of bourgeois revolution. Therefore humanitarianism was beyond doubt a progressive ideological trend in the period of antifeudalism, which expressed the basic interests and demand of the bourgeoisie, and played an active role in pushing ahead the establishment and development of the capitalist system. Nonetheless, humanitarianism is after all a bourgeois ideological system; in the final analysis, its core is bourgeois individualism and egoism. Therefore, even at that time, it had its limitation and negativeness.

Utopian socialism and communism before Marxism also used humanitarianism as a weapon to criticize the capitalist system; it can be said that this is the maximum humanitarianism an ideology can achieve in a positive aspect. However, the objective social role of this form of humanitarianism is in reverse proportion to the development of history. By the mid-19th century, with the development of social contradictions of capitalism in Western Europe and North America, and the sharpening of class struggle, in particular the birth of historical materialism and scientific communism, humanitarianism gradually became an ideological weapon for bourgeois thinkers to cover up the social contradictions of capitalism, to safeguard capitalist rule, to oppose the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, and to cheat and negate the will of the laboring people.

It is necessary to point out in particular that the basic theory of all types of humanitarianism is idealism of the social historical view. They all base the establishment of their theories on some abstract human nature with a universal form out of their own subjective design, and take this abstract human nature as a measurement to judge everything by, regarding the establishment of the ideal society as the realization or restoration of human nature. The French scholars of the enlightenment school regarded reason as the source of development of human society, while Feuerbach looked upon love and friendship as the motive force that pushed forward the advance of history. The specific ways of saying it were different, but they were in essence the same.

It is necessary to make truth-seeking analysis of the relationship of humanitarianism with Marx' idea in his early stage. It is necessary to see that in his ideology at that time there existed the common factors of all kinds of humanitarianism, including Feuerbach's humanism, but also those factors of his new world outlook which had already surpassed the limitation of humanitarianism and basically different from it in principle. The year 1844 was a most important year in the changing process of Marx' ideology. Having gone through the struggle of the period of the "Rheinische Zeitung," Marx went to Paris, the world's political center at that time, and took part in the practice of social revolution and the criticism of Hegelian philosophy and other erroneous ideological trends. In his book "The Critique of Hegelian Philosophy of the Right," there already existed the ideological rudiments of historical materialism that the townspeople should decide the state; and "he made his appearance as a revolutionary in 'Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,' advocating 'merciless criticism of everything in existence,' in particular, 'criticism by weapons,' and appealing to the masses and to the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 577) In "1844 Manuscripts of Economy-Philosophy" written the same year, Marx adhered to his own understanding that the state and the right took their sources from the society of townspeople, gained in his criticism of the Hegelian philosophy of the right, in an attempt to make an economic examination of the townspeople society, with an aim to discover the objective law of social development, and to solve the "puzzle of history." In the "Manuscript," he regarded productive labor and practice as the basis of social existence and development, and initially expounded the economic basis of the antagonism between capital and the laboring class. At the same time, he regarded communism as the inevitable outcome of the internal contradiction of capitalist society, namely the contradiction between labor and capital, the inevitable link in the history of mankind. At the same time, he stressed that "in order to eliminate private property in reality, it is necessary to take practical communist actions." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 140)

The important ideas mentioned above demonstrate: Marx had at that time already surpassed Feuerbach's humanism, utopian socialism, and communism in certain basic points, and was approaching and arriving close to historical materialism and scientific communism. Nonetheless, it is also necessary for us to see that Marx' ideology at that time was not mature after all. He was still unable to reveal the movement of contradiction between

productive force and productive relations, the objective law that governs capitalist society, and the development of the whole human society by way of the analysis of facts of experience; he had not finally discovered historical materialism, and therefore it was impossible for him to prove the objective inevitability of the birth and development of the future society with a scientific view and method; and socialism had not yet changed from being utopian to scientific. It was also because of this that there still existed factors of humanitarianism in Marx' way of thinking at that time. And the most conspicuous expression is that the basis for the establishment of the theory of communism was not the objective law that governs social development, but "man himself," and "man is the highest intrinsic quality of man"--from which the theory of "self-alienation" derived. In other words, Marx had not finally discarded "the discussion of the abstract man."

In the "Manuscript," Marx also regarded the development of the economic system, namely, the extinction of capitalism and the victory of communism, as the process of recovering "human nature." Human nature is productive labor (free and conscious activities), when labor went through alienation, and when private ownership came into being, along with it, the exploiter and the exploited, human nature was also alienated and lost. "Communism is the active elimination of private ownership, namely, the self-alienation of man, therefore, it is the genuine possession of human nature through man, and for man. Thus, it is for man to turn to himself, and the recovery of the social man (namely, of man himself)." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 120) Such method of demonstration was in essence in common with that of Feuerbach. In other words, though Marx changed human nature from Feuerbach's love, friendship, and so on, into productive labor, it was still something abstract divorced from history and reality. First, alienation and recovery were under the premise of the acknowledgement that in the very beginning man possessed a kind of idealized human nature (free and conscious activities); nonetheless, this could only be an a priori supposition, because there has never existed the original type of such man in the history of mankind. Second, it regarded all human nature actually existing in the various stages of the social development under private ownership as the alienation of human nature; this will logically lead to denying that the history of mankind is a process of incessant advance, and the total negation of the social history of classes. Third, the forming of an all-round developed man in a future communist society can only be based on the victory of socialist revolution, and is the outcome of conscientiously building a highly developed material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization on the part of the people. Compared with the past, it is the most progressive, but not final; it will continue to develop with the continuous development of society. Nor can it be explained with the "recovery of human nature," or "the genuine possession of human nature." Therefore, to expound and prove the inevitability of communism with the self-alienation and recovery of human nature is still of a metaphysical and idealist nature. Thus we can see that when Marx called his communism "complete humanitarianism and naturalism," not only did he adopt the terminology of Feuerbach, but actually expressed certain of his ideological trends at that time.

Generally speaking, in the period of his ideological change, Marx' formula of communism was tantamount to humanitarianism, and there actually coexisted diametrically opposed views and methods between the old and new, historical materialism and historical idealism, and dialectics and metaphysics. On the one hand, through revolutionary practice and the struggle against various erroneous ideological trends, on the basis of critically inheriting the excellent cultural heritage of mankind, Marx had surpassed the ideological limitation of the old world order, and began to form a series of ideological rudiments and factors concerning the new world order, approaching the basic ideology of the whole system of historical materialism; on the other hand, this baby representing the soul of the new world about to be born had not yet emerged from the womb; therefore it had not yet rid itself of the traditional "umbilical cord" of humanism (humanitarianism). Nonetheless, this condition did not last long, and was very temporary. With the discovery of historical materialism, Marx at last acquired a scientific world outlook and methodology, and thoroughly cleared away the effects of old philosophy in his own ideology, so that communism was entirely established on a scientific basis.

## II

Taking a general view of Marx' writings, we can see this basic fact that gives us cause for deep thought: After 1845 Marx not only no longer described his ideology as humanitarianism, but also carried out sharp exposure and criticism of humanitarianism. We hold that the basic reason for this change was that from 1845 to 1846, Marx and Engels jointly completed the creation of their materialist view of history and brought about a great revolutionary change in the concept of history, and thus built their doctrine on a scientific basis, and also drew a demarcation line in principle against humanitarianism. Why do we say this?

Engels said on many occasions that in the spring of 1845, when he and Marx met in Brussels, Marx had already proceeded "from" the fundamental principle of "explaining politics and its history from economic relations and their development," and "largely completed his work of bringing into play his materialist theory of history" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 192), and he in addition apparently explained this to Engels in the clear language he used later. They then "set to work in very different areas to make a detailed formulation of these new concepts." (Ibid.) Marx' "On the Feuerbach Program" could be said to have been written with this aim; and "The German Ideology" "formulated in detail" and for the first time gave a systematic exposition on "the new concept" of historical materialism. This shows that the founders of Marxism affirmed that it was precisely in these two works written in 1845 and 1846, and in no others, that they completed the creation of the materialist view of history.

Examined by the fundamental ideology of historical materialism, these two books, especially "The German Ideology," were the hallmarks of the discovery of the materialist view of history. Marx said: "My viewpoint is, the development of social-economic formation is a kind of natural process." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 12) This was an incisive

encapsulation of the essence and characteristics and the basic ideology of the materialist view of history. How then did Marx arrive at this basic ideology? According to Lenin, the method applied by Marx was to distinguish the economic field among the various fields of social life, and to distinguish production relations among all social relations, and to regard it as the basic and original relationship determining all others. "Only by summing up social relations as production relations and summing up production relations as the level of productive force is it possible to have a reliable basis for regarding the development of social formation as a natural process of history." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 8) This is because only by establishing a scientific concept of production relations and bringing to light the movement of contradictions in productive force and production relations is it possible to scientifically explain the material basis of social formation, explain the inherent motive power and sources of the development and replacement of social formation, expound the objective laws governing the history of social development, and apply the same keen vision of natural science to examine the process of development of the history of society. And only thus is it possible to fundamentally explain that society determines the ideology of society, and to draw a clear distinction between the materialist and idealist views of history.

There is not the slightest doubt that the basic ideology of Marx in establishing historical materialism went through a process. This process began when he was working on the "Rheinische Zeitung" in 1842. However, it was only in "The German Ideology" that, through examining the history of production, distribution, exchange, and so on, Marx formulated the scientific concept of production relations, and interpreted this as the foundation of the whole of history. He pointed out that concepts, ideology, the people's spiritual intercourse were none other than "the direct products of people's material relations" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 29; the following quotations are all taken from this volume, and only the page number will be given), and production relations were the most fundamental of all material relations; they were not only the practical foundation of the state and political system, but also "the true foundation of all actual property relations." (p 21) Marx also revealed the dialectical movement of productive force and production relations, indicating that it was the motive force and source of the development of social history, that "all historical conflicts originated in the contradictions between productive force and the forms of contact." (p 83) He also profoundly expounded the four ownership systems existing in history--"tribal ownership system," "ancient commune ownership system and state ownership system," "feudal or social estate ownership system," and "capitalist ownership system," which were all social economic forms formed and replaced one after another on the basis of the contradiction movement of productive force and production relations. The communist ownership system in the future, as a brand new social economic form, is the inevitable trend and outcome of the whole historical development of the past, under the premise of a highly developed productive force. All this illustrates that the basic idea of historical materialism was already established.

An important aspect expressing the realization of Marx' revolutionary change in historical view is his attitude toward old philosophy. On the writing of "The German Ideology," Marx said: At that time, he and Engels had arrived at the same results in their historical view, therefore "we decided to study together the antagonism between our views with those of the ideological system of German philosophy; actually, we were to clean out our philosophical belief of the past. And our wish came to fulfillment in the form of the criticism of the philosophy since Hegel." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 84) To Marx, at that time, the first thing was to clear the effects of Feuerbach's humanism.

First, in "The German Ideology," Marx no longer proceeded from the supposed "human nature," but investigated the development of social history from the practical social relations and production relations, including the historical development of human nature. No longer did he regard social relations and production relations as the expression of human nature, but regarded it as the products of social and production relations in historical development. In Marx' view, though the individual man also formed a classification, namely, mankind, an important distinction between this classification of man and the classifications of other things was that mankind was an organized society. The individual man could only exist in the society, and only exist in the social relations between him and other people; without a certain social relation, he would not be able to carry out productive labor, he could not exist, and could not be himself. Social relations was primarily and basically production relations; and on this basis, there were political, legal, ethical, and ideological relations and so on. Man amid such relations, was lively and realistic, and it was only by placing man in certain social and production relations, that it was possible to make scientific abstraction of human nature. Marx explicitly put forth: "Human nature is not something abstract or innate in the individual. In reality, it is the sum total of all social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18)

Second, Marx no longer explained the existence of private ownership from the alienation of human nature, but regarded private property as the outcome of the alienation of labor, and revealed the objective law of the birth, development, and extinction of private ownership from the contradiction movement of productive force and production relations, based on the analysis of the economic process itself. No longer did he judge the degree of rationality of the economic forms by the degree of the realization of human nature; he no longer regarded the contradiction of capitalist society as the contradictions between innate quality and existence (human and "inhuman"), ideal labor and alienate labor, and society suitable to genuine human nature and the realistic society, but attributed it to the contradiction between productive force and production relations, and other social contradictions arising therein.

Third, Marx no longer regarded communism as the recovery of human nature, and as the "possession of human nature," but revealed the inevitability of communism from the innate contradictions of the production form of capitalism. He indicated that: "The difference between communism and all



movements in the past is in: it overthrows the foundation of all old relations of production and contacts, and unprecedentedly and self-consciously regards all spontaneous premises as the creation of previous generations, eliminating the spontaneity of these premises, and making them governed by individuals in coalition. Therefore, the establishment of communism is the essence possessing an economic nature, that is to create various material conditions for such unity, and change the existing conditions into the conditions for a coalition." (p 79) Moreover, Marx explicitly opposed the inference of the future proceeding from human nature, and looking upon communism as the ideal in conformity with human nature. He stressed that communism was a practical movement to solve the contradictions in capitalist society. He said: "To us, communism is not the condition that should be established, it is not the ideal which requires the conformity with realities. What we mean by communism is the movement to eliminate the realities of the existing conditions." (p 40)

Under the condition of thoroughly clearing away the effects of humanism, and the establishment of historical materialism, it was natural that Marx no longer called his doctrine humanitarianism, while exposing and criticizing it. This was because Feuerbach's humanism was originally an expression of humanitarianism. Here, we shall focus on the study of Marx' criticism of the humanitarianism of "true socialism."

The German "true socialists" did not avoid mentioning that Feuerbach's humanitarianism was their philosophical basis. Like Feuerbach, they regarded the worship of the abstract man as the core of their world outlook. Obviously, this view was diametrically opposed to the historical materialism discovered by Marx. In "The German Ideology," Marx devoted over 100 pages to resist it. Proceeding from the basic principle that human nature was in reality the sum of all social relations, Marx profoundly exposed and criticized such views, indicating that: proceeding from universal human nature, "true socialists" extended it to "human equality" and common nature. Hence, the relations shared by all people here became the products of "man's innate quality" and "human nature," but actually, these relations, just as the idea of equality, are products of history." (p 566) In other words, it was not the social relations derived from "man's innate quality" or "human nature," but the existence and development of social relations that determined the innate quality and nature of man and his historical development. Disregarding the historical conditions and social relations of man, "true socialists" regarded "natural contacts" as the "basis of all social virtues" of man. As a matter of fact, "such 'human natural contacts' are the historical products transformed every day by man, and such products have all along been very natural"; they were objective, and independent of man's will, though it "may seem inhuman and unnatural" in the eyes of "man." (p 567)

Proceeding from the abstract "man," "true socialists" disregarded all practical social contradictions, creating opposition between the fictitious and abstract "human nature" and "the existing society." However, it was impossible to make a scientific analysis of the essence of the practical social problems starting from the abstract "man" and "human nature." In



exposing the above-mentioned views of "true socialists," Marx indicated: The proletariat exists and works like a machine; this is true. But why should the proletariat work like a machine? "True socialists" answered, this is because the "rentiers" have let their "innate quality" become "deteriorated." But why should the "rentiers" let their own innate quality become "deteriorated"? This is because our existing society has become "barbarized." If we go on to ask why our society should become "barbarized," the "true socialists" will have only this to say: "Please ask God." (p 547) Thus, not only were they unable to have a correct understanding of the root cause of the existence of the rentiers and the proletariat and the true nature of the two, but they also covered up the contradictions in capitalist society and the true nature of class antagonism.

"True socialists" regarded fictitious human nature as the measurement to judge all things by, and the realization of a purely imaginary kingdom, the kingdom of human nature, as the completion and purpose of world history. They preached that the existing society was one that was "based on an outside force," and what they advocated was a genuine society "based on the consciousness innate in human nature, namely rationality," which was "in conformity with the inherent nature of mankind, namely a rational society." (p 566) In refutation, Marx said, thus it can be seen, the ideal society advocated by "true socialists" is a society based on the consciousness of consciousness, and the thought of thought, dispelling "outside force," namely, a certain condition of material life; the advocates of such view have forgotten "whether the 'innate nature' of people, or their 'consciousness' of such innate nature, 'namely,' their 'rationality,' have always been the products of history; even when they regard that human society is based on an 'outside force,' their 'innate nature' is in adaptability to such 'outside force.'" (pp 567-568) In Marx' view, communist revolution was not in conformity with "innate human nature," but with a highly developed productive force; it was not based on "inherent human nature," but it was on the basis of a new condition of material life and new social relations in the course of eliminating the existing social system, that the new "nature" of man is formed, namely, the all-round developed new man of communism.

The humanitarianism advocated by "true socialists" certainly possesses its own characteristics; but on certain basic points it shares common characteristics with humanitarianism in general. They are: proceeding from "man himself," with the abstract man as its core, they fabricated a human nature common to all men, then judged the rationality of the social system with this "human nature" as a yardstick, with the realization of an ideal society in conformity with this "innate human nature" as their goal. Its philosophical basis is historical idealism. It was precisely because of this that Marx' criticism of the humanitarianism of "true socialists," guided by historical materialism, is of universal significance.

Marx and Engels also wrote some articles to criticize (Keligai) [0344 0448 5556] and (Geluen) [2706 1774 1869], the representatives of "true socialism," and the large amount of materials have provided ample evidence to prove the clear-cut stand of Marx toward humanitarianism.

### III

It is universally acknowledged that Marx no longer called his own ideology humanitarianism or himself humanist after he and Engels together wrote "The German Ideology." But to some people, Marx still affirmed humanitarianism ideologically, only he did not use the word humanitarianism. This is because, first, Marx had never given up the ideal of emancipating the whole of mankind; on the contrary, he had always taken it as the final goal of communism; second, Marx had never denied the value of man; on the contrary, he had always stressed human dignity and freedom, and the free and all-round development of man; third, Marx criticized utopian communism only for its ways to achieve the end, but never criticized its humanitarian goal.

These views are hardly convincing.

We hold that the reason why Marx rejected the concept of humanitarianism is precisely that he negated the essence of the theory of humanitarianism. This conclusion is in conformity with the process of change in Marx' ideology, and with all his works after "The German Ideology." "The Poverty of Philosophy," one of his mature works, criticized humanitarianism in a very clear-cut way. He pointed out that "the whole theory" of the humanitarian school is based on the unlimited distinction between theory and practice, principle and result, right and reality, the good and good aspects." "The fraternity school is a perfect humanitarian school. They deny the inevitability of antagonism; it is their wish to change all men into capitalists." "The fraternity school believe that they are seriously opposing the practice of capitalists, but actually they themselves more resemble the capitalists than any other people." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 121) This means that both the humanitarian school and the fraternity school were fantasies divorced from objective reality, and in essence, representing precisely the interests of the capitalists. In "The Communist Manifesto," Marx once again acutely criticized the humanitarian world outlook of "true socialists," indicating that the documents of French socialism and communism were "emasculated" in the hands of "true socialists," "representing, not true requirements, but the requirements of truth; not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of human nature, of man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical fantasy." (Ibid., p 278) It was in essence "a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets" with which the German autocratic government "dosed the German working class uprising." (Ibid., p 279)

Here, Marx criticized the fundamental theory, not individual viewpoint, and this fundamental theory was the abstract theory of human nature. Whether it is called "human nature," or "fraternity," or some other things, they are all historical idealism when history is explained with abstract human nature, divorced from the interaction of productive force and production relations of a definite historical age, and from the interaction of the economic basis and the superstructure.

Perhaps the reason why Marx adopted such an acute attitude toward humanitarianism was because he was at that time struggling against "true socialism" "this loathsome sect." However, we find that Marx had never changed his attitude since then. In his works "On Proudhon" (letter to J. B. (Shiweize) [2457 7279 3419]), written in 1865, he again referred to his criticism of Proudhon's theory of abstract human nature; he quoted in the footnotes from his own "Poverty of Philosophy," indicating: "There, I pointed out in passing, because he did not regard the economic realm as the theoretical expression of the historical production relations corresponding to a certain stage of development of material production, but absurdly regarded it as an everlasting concept, which has been existing all along, this has shown how shallow his understanding was in the secret of scientific dialectics; on the other hand, it has shown how he approved of the fantasy of speculative philosophy, and how he returned to the standpoint of bourgeois economic theory in a roundabout way." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 143) In 1867, in the footnotes of "Das Kapital" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 98), he once again quoted the same statement in "The Poverty of Philosophy." In his letter to F. A. (Zuoerge) [1563 1422 2703] in 1877, Marx scathingly denounced some people in Germany who attempted to make humanitarianism take the place of historical materialism--the theoretical basis of scientific socialism--indicating that "these people want socialism to have a higher and ideal change, that is to say, they want to make the modern myth of the goddess of justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity take the place of its materialistic basis." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 417) Up until 1879 in his "Circular Letter to A. Bebel and Others," Marx reaffirmed his criticism of "true socialism" in the "Communist Manifesto." Speaking of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie such as the Zurich group of three, he said: "As to the essence of their socialism, they have been fully criticized in the section on 'German' or 'True' socialism in the 'Communist Manifesto.' In places where class struggles are put aside as something unpleasant and 'boorish,' what is left as the basis of socialism is empty words on 'true fraternity' and 'justice.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 373) All these facts are enough to demonstrate Marx' attitude toward the principles of humanitarianism such as abstract man, human nature, liberty, equality, fraternity, justice, and so on, and he had always been explicit and persistent, and in unanimity with Engels ever since he became a Marxist.

Then, did not Marx give up the advocacy of the emancipation of all mankind, denying the dignity, value, right and individuality of man? Certainly not. Quite on the contrary, it was only Marx and Engels who first gave scientific explanations to these problems guided by the historical materialism they discovered. These ideas, though one-sided and hypocritical in bourgeois humanitarianism, include some rational elements after all, and they can be absorbed through critical transformation. Marxism has done just that. Nonetheless, humanitarianism is by no means a few slogans, it is an ideological system, namely, a social historical theory with the theory of abstract human nature as its core, and a historical idealism diametrically opposed to historical materialism. This point has been repeatedly explained in detail. Here we should like to make an analysis

on some statements of Marx which have been regarded as the basic principles of humanitarianism.

There are two statements which have often been quoted to prove that Marx was a resolute and persistent humanitarianist. One is: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273) The other is: Communist society "will take the overall and free development of every man as its basic principle." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 649) The first statement is quoted from the "Communist Manifesto," and the second from the "Das Kapital"; both are representative works of Marx. If these statements were really the golden rule and precious precept of humanitarianism, then the title of humanitarianist for Marx would be beyond doubt. But only when these statements are cut off from the original texts, and understood without referring to the basic spirit of the original text, will they be regarded as the basic topic of humanitarianism. If we try to understand them in their original context, linking them with the whole contents of these two works, then it will not be difficult to see that what Marx meant is that in class society, freedom and development of the individual are restricted by class relations, and so long as classes remain, so long as there is one man who is not emancipated, and there is one man who is not developed, communism cannot be genuinely realized, and there will be no genuine emancipation for all of mankind. While in communist society, the free development of everybody will not only not reject, suppress, or injure the free development of other people, but will become the premise and condition for the free development of other people, with the high development of productive force, the extinction of classes, and the fundamental change in human relations. The entire discussions of the "Communist Manifesto" and "Das Kapital" are guided with historical materialism. Their basic contents are to expound and prove, through analysis of the movement of contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, the extinction of capitalism and the objective inevitability of the victory of communism, and to expound and prove that the extinction of capitalism and the victory of the proletariat is the objective law of the development of social history, including the emancipation and the free, and all-round development of the proletariat, the laboring people, and every man. Marx never put the emancipation of the individual, and the all-round development of the individual in the first place, regarding them as the highest principle of communism. On the contrary, Marx stressed that communism was the action of the masses of people, action of the class, and the cause requiring the struggle and sacrifice of millions of people for its victory. Therefore, he sang the praises of the noble ideas and actions of not fearing sacrifices and being courageous to devote oneself for the cause of emancipation of the proletariat and all of mankind, calling upon the proletariat and the laboring people of the whole world to unite and form a vast and mighty army to buy the old system and to build the new. It was precisely in the "Communist Manifesto," that he used "Workers of All Countries, Unite" as a conclusion instead of the slogan of "all men are brothers" of the "federation of justice." But of course, Marx did not deny the independent

existence of the individual and his value, and advocated that everyone should win emancipation and development. The two statements quoted above will precisely serve as a proof that Marx set great store by the development of the individual and showed concern for the interests of the individual. We may say that here is included the rational factor retained in Marxism through Marx' transformation of humanitarianism. Nonetheless, these ideas are different from the humanitarianist worship of the abstract man in principle. It should not be held as a scientific method of understanding Marx' philosophy by taking fragments of his sayings from his works and draw a conclusion that runs counter to its basic spirit.

We hold that it is also not correct to confuse scientific communism with humanitarian communism. Humanitarianism is a characteristic of utopian communism. That utopian communism is a fantasy primarily lies in the fact that it based communist ideal on some abstract human nature, never departing from the nest of historical idealism, not in the fact that it failed to find the correct channel to realize communism. It was precisely because it guided itself with abstract humanitarianism, and based itself on some everlasting rational principle that it failed to see the material force to realize communism, and failed to find the correct way to realize communism. Utopian communism and scientific communism are two ideological systems, and what they share in common is the orientation of communism, not humanitarianism. Marx' criticism of utopian communism was not primarily on the methods it adopted, but the humanitarian principle based on historical idealism.

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## HOW TO ENSURE THAT PRIORITY IS GIVEN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HYDROPOWER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 83 pp 31-35

[Article by Li Rui [2621 6904]]

[Text] Before discussing this topic, I would first like to look at several trends and developments in the area of energy and electric power.

As everyone knows, energy resources, especially electric power, represent an important key to achieving a quadrupling of total agricultural and industrial production output throughout the whole of China by the end of the century. For many years now, energy resources, especially electric power, have been lacking. Energy resources, and especially electric power, are resources in very short supply. For a variety of historical reasons it will be difficult to change this current trend in the near future and indeed it may well be with us for some time to come, and this is particularly the case in well-developed regions such as Dongbei, Donghua, Beijing, Tianjin and Tangshan. Thus the question of how we can solve these shortages of energy resources is an important question for the entire country.

Research institutes and planning departments have various ideas for solving this problem, based on experiences both in China and abroad. One such idea is related to the ratio between the rate of increase in energy resources and the rate of increase of the national economy (usually known as the energy resources elasticity coefficient). According to statistics over the years, this coefficient has been around one, and in recent years it has been less than one (this has also been the trend abroad). By adopting various measures to save energy, as well as such policies as technical transformations and alterations to product structure and enterprise structure, it has been estimated that the energy resources elasticity coefficient could be held to between 0.5 and 0.6 over the next 20 years. On the basis of this estimate, in order to achieve a quadrupling of production value, there will still have to be a doubling or perhaps a little more of energy resources (i.e., coal and oil). However, on the basis of experiences in China and abroad this system cannot be used for electric power since the elasticity coefficient of electric power is always more than one. Over the last 20 or 30 years this figure has in general been higher than 1.2 in most countries throughout the world, while in developed Western countries it has been higher than 1.5. This has also been the case over the last 30 years in



China. Because of constant developments in technology, electrification, constant increases in the extent of mechanization in industry, and daily improvements in the people's living standards, increases in electric power must be greater than increases in the national economy, and this is a rule which we cannot avoid or ignore. In the past we were not sufficiently aware of this and this led to a slowing down of developments in electric power and thus there were serious shortages of electric power for a long time and this seriously affected industrial and agricultural production development as well as increases in the national financial revenue. In 1980, during readjustments to the national economy, capital construction was suppressed and thus the electric power industry was also handled with "one cut of the knife," with the result that over the last 3 years the newly increased installed capacity of electric power dropped by more than one-third over 1979, and thus the scale of construction also dropped.

Today everyone knows that in order to achieve a quadrupling of industrial and agricultural production value, there must at the very least be a sustained level of development in electric power. In other words a quadrupling or near quadrupling. This means that by the end of the century, electricity output must have reached 1,200 billion kilowatt-hours while installed capacity must have reached 240 million kilowatts. If these figures cannot be reached, even to reach an electricity output of 1,000 billion kilowatt-hours and an installed capacity of 200 million kilowatts will, in view of present factors, still be a very difficult target to reach. In order to achieve these targets, statistics show that probably around three-fourths of the output will have to rely on electricity generated through combustion. However, there are many problems related to whether or not there can be the necessary guarantees for coal resources and transportation (for example, the majority of increases in coal output must be used for the generation of electricity through combustion). In this respect we must make estimates of a very careful and conservative nature, otherwise there will be more enormous shortages of coal for the generation of electricity, and then it will be too late to do anything about it! Thus we should turn our attention to ways of ensuring special development for hydroelectric power sources.

The superiority of hydroelectric power among conventional power sources cannot be denied. The sources are inexhaustible and constantly renewed. It represents a clean and nonpolluting energy source, while at the same time it has the composite advantages of preventing flooding, helping irrigation, creating shipping and navigation routes, and providing areas for aquatic production. Thus over the last 100 years, and especially over the last 30 years, countries throughout the world have been developing hydroelectric power. The average extent of exploitation of hydroelectric power throughout the world is now 20 percent of all power resources and in some developed countries hydroelectric power represents as much as 40 percent of power resources while in developing countries the figure is around 8 percent. In many Western countries hydroelectric power sources have now almost all been exploited. Since the emergence of the energy crisis, hydroelectric power has been given even more attention than before. For example, in the United States today small hydroelectric power stations are now being



developed which were previously considered uneconomical. According to foreign statistics, within the next 40 years up to 80 percent of the entire world's potential hydroelectric power resources will be exploited and this will produce as much as 1.8 billion kilowatts.

China's resources of water power rank first in the world. Installed capacity today stands at 22 million kilowatts (of which 15 percent are below the 500 kilowatt level) and this represents only 5 percent of potential exploitation of natural resources, and thus we are lagging behind the average for developing countries and are way behind countries such as India. Even if we are able to quadruple these figures by the end of the century (and on the basis of present-day methods this is impossible) the resulting 80 million kilowatts will still only represent around one-fifth of the potential exploitable natural resources and electric energy production will still only represent around one-fourth of the total quantity of electricity.

Over the last 30 years the development of hydroelectric power has slowed down for many reasons but one of the main ones has been a lack of thorough understanding of the relationship between hydroelectric power and the situation in China. What has not been appreciated is the necessity of giving priority to developing hydroelectric power and the fact that it would be possible to develop such energy resources very quickly. Hydroelectric power has not been handled like the development of coal and oil, which involved the adoption of effective and firm measures.

What kind of position does hydroelectric power actually have among conventional sources of energy? For a long time in the past there was no clear answer to this and in fact some statistics even mistakenly calculated hydroelectric energy resources on an annual basis and thus it did not even manage to represent 1 percent of conventional energy resources. If such calculations are made on the basis of international standards of 100 years (in the Soviet Union it is calculated on the basis of 200 years, and, in actual fact, as long as the world exists, there will always be ample supplies of hydroelectric energy resources), then China's hydroelectric energy resources represent between one-fourth and one-third of the country's conventional energy resources, second only to coal. This is something that was not always appreciated in the past. Another point which was not understood was that hydroelectric power is a primary energy source (water power) and can also be transformed into a secondary energy source (electrical power) at the same time and this is equivalent to adding together electrical power generated through combustion and the necessary coal (or oil and nuclear fuels) and the necessary installations and construction for transportation. By simply regarding hydroelectric power as a secondary energy source, then, of course, one cannot calculate the investments for development, exploitation, and transportation of other primary energy sources such as coal and oil and hence the cost of hydroelectric power appears to be far greater than for electricity generated through combustion. As a primary, reusable energy source, hydroelectric power should be treated on an equal footing with coal and oil. It is now basically known what various hydroelectric energy sources there are throughout China, and around 380 million kilowatts are potentially exploitable and recently sites totaling more than

100 million kilowatts of this potential hydroelectric power have been found to have the necessary conditions for exploitation. It is in this aspect that coal and oil cannot match up. We must widen our vision. Coal and oil are both extremely valuable industrial raw materials and we have used far too much of them and future generations will blame their predecessors for not having considered the aftermath of their actions. It is an incredible waste not to make use of water as a means of energy and instead to allow it to flow unused into the sea. We must use more water power and less fossil fuels. By developing hydroelectricity as a source of energy, we can relieve the pressure on coal (and transportation), and for this reason it is the coal department which is most concerned about developing hydroelectricity. Last year the amount of electricity generated through hydro-electrical means totaled 74.4 billion kilowatt-hours and this represented a saving of more than 50 million tons of coal.

Energy and transportation are characterized by high investment costs and long construction periods, and thus we must move quickly. If there are still 17 years before quadrupling is achieved, the amount of time required for the construction of energy sources such as hydroelectric power is only 12 or 13 years, because development projects since 1955 have not taken the end of the century into consideration, and thus the main concern for the Seventh 5-Year Plan must be to firmly change this situation. During the 1950's we hailed electrical power and transportation as the "vanguards," but 30 years of practice since then have proved them to be very much at the rear. We should assess and evaluate our experiences, taking into account strategies, industrial deployment (such as the fact that most industries which consume electricity are located in the east), overall balances, and investment proportions. Energy represents a complete process from exploitation, transportation, and processing, to its transformation into power and eventual consumption. Investments in coal and investments in transportation and other projects (known as the "coal chain" abroad) varies from country to country but in overall terms there are certain specific proportions. Investments in coal in the so-called "coal chain" usually represent around one-third to one-half of total costs. Investments in coal and transportation are basically the same in China's Shanxi Province. In terms of electricity supplies, greater priority is given in China to the construction of and investment in high voltage electrical cables rather than to coal and transportation investments. To a very great extent China's investment policies determine the developmental direction of the energy industry. Over the last 30 years, planning and organization has not placed the development of hydroelectricity in the ranks of primary energy sources but, rather, it has been included in investments in electrical power in general and this is the basic reason for the slow development of China's hydroelectrical power industry. As a result of planning and financial organization, capital construction investments for electrical power, coal (or oil), and the railways are all organized in separate departments and thus, since investments for electrical power have been limited and electrical supplies have been short, consideration was naturally given first of all to electricity generated through combustion, which always produces quicker results. Even after many years of effort, investment in hydroelectricity still represents only one-third of all investments in

electrical power and thus, if this situation is not changed, and the problem of investments is not solved, and hydroelectric power is not treated as a primary energy source, then it is pointless to talk about the priority of hydroelectric power, however well it is appreciated and however much it is publicly accepted that hydroelectric power must be developed as an energy source, and thus we will find ourselves following the same old path that we have taken over the last 30 years.

The more that state funds are in short supply, the more we must talk in terms of key projects and key investments, which means that there cannot be equal distribution of funds. Abroad there is a so-called "tilted policy," which means that during a certain period of time, investments have a particular emphasis. The United States started to develop hydroelectricity on a large scale during the 1930's. In the 1950's, two-thirds of the Soviet Union's investments in electrical power were channeled into hydroelectricity and today they are beginning to exploit hydroelectric sources in the eastern regions of the country and transporting the electricity 2,000 km back to the west. All of this is well worth research and some adaptation and copying. For many years investment distribution in China has been restricted by various frameworks, such as the fact that investments in energy resources cannot exceed a certain percentage of capital construction. The question now is whether these frameworks can be broken down. According to traditional viewpoints, investments in hydroelectricity fall under the jurisdiction of the electrical energy department and the above-mentioned proportion of one-third should never be changed. The situation concerning Brazil's development of hydroelectric energy is well worth examining. In Brazil there is very little coal or oil but the country has enormous hydroelectric energy resources. Let us examine the following few figures. In 1950, hydroelectric installations were producing 1.5 million kilowatts and in 1960 this figure had risen to 3.6 million kilowatts. In 1970 it stood at 8.8 million kilowatts and in 1980 it soared to 28 million kilowatts. Today in Brazil, hydroelectric power makes up 91 percent of the country's entire production of electricity and it is estimated that by 1985 hydroelectric installations will produce a total 42 million kilowatts, while by the end of the century this figure is hoped to have reached 110 million kilowatts. The construction of hydroelectric installations in Brazil has relied mainly on foreign investments and foreign technological know-how. During the 1960's, technology in the country was lagging well behind China, whereas today there has been a very fast growth in technology and technological know-how. Of course the situation in China is not the same as in Brazil and the pros and cons of using foreign investments needs further examination, but the so-called "tilted policy" is well worth adopting in China.

If we ignore other composite results and just look at hydroelectricity, it is true to say that production costs are low, accumulation large, and economic results obvious. In 1982 the total hydroelectricity generated in China came to 74.4 billion kilowatt-hours, accumulating around 3 billion yuan for the state, and the investments for hydroelectricity in the same year totaled 1.3 billion yuan. Hence, in order to solve the problem of investments in hydroelectricity, a new concept known as "build up

hydroelectricity by means of hydroelectricity" has emerged. However, in actual fact, in order to really ensure that hydroelectric energy gets the preferential development it requires, the state still needs to implement the "tilted policy" as far as distribution of investments is concerned. If investment in hydroelectricity cannot be totally removed from the province of the department dealing with electrical power, and if a special, separate department cannot be set up, then, at the very least, major projects and in particular those large-scale projects involving comprehensive results should be handled as special investment projects. In order to open up a new situation in the development of hydroelectricity and in order to achieve or get near the target of quadrupling, a series of large-scale hydroelectric power stations (totaling between 20 and 30 million kilowatts), such as the key projects already situated in such areas as the upper Huanghe, the Hongshui He in Guangxi, the upper and middle Changjiang, the Minjiang, the Tingjiang, the Hunan water system, and the Yunnan water system, should start to be built within the next 10 years, and during the final 10 years they should all come into operation. If these projects are only begun during the latter 10 years, then it is hard to imagine that they could become operative before the end of the century and thus the target of quadrupling will not be possible. Thus, when these stations do eventually become operative, it may be too late and the shortages of coal and the problems with transportation and electricity produced by combustion will merely intensify.

In order to make the most of limited investment funds, the development of hydroelectric generating sites must be done carefully. This means choosing sites with favorable conditions and good economic indexes and this implies geographical suitability, short construction time, small amount of total engineering, large generating potential, low cost per unit kilowatt production, and little damage through flooding. Because China has a large population and not very much inhabitable land, the question of damage through flooding is a key question which must be given adequate attention. The large- and medium-scale hydroelectric power stations constructed in China, producing more than 10 million kilowatts, involved the moving of a total of 1.2 million people and the flooding of some 1.5 million mu of land. Of these projects, the three large-scale reservoirs of San Men Xia, Danjiang Kou, and Xinanjiang each involved the moving of between 200,000 and 300,000 people. The best sites for hydroelectric power stations are usually in the upper reaches of rivers and the biggest concentration of these sites is in China's southwestern and northwestern regions and it is in these regions that future key projects will be sited. According to statistics, future construction of similarly large stations producing over 10 million kilowatts will still present problems, even though it will be possible to reduce to one-fifth the above figures for population displacement and land flooding. For example, in the case of the Wu Qiang Xi in Hunan, while a very favorable loan has been granted from Japan, the height of the dam has had to be reduced in order to cut down the number of people who will be displaced by the project, and thus the project has been constantly delayed. Although the famous San Xia project would be enormously beneficial in terms of flood protection and electricity generation, 20 years have already been spent in trying to settle the details of the project, and one of the

most difficult problems has been that the original plan for a dam would produce too much flood damage. Opinion is that the low-rise dam mentioned before would still require the displacement of some 300,000 or 400,000 people. The economic results of the San Xia project will be very good and everyone is very keen to get the project under way as soon as possible, but the investments are too enormous and the period of construction too long and thus there is a problem of balancing the project with the country's actual capabilities. Hence the state should have a special fund which will not affect investments in other hydroelectric projects, which will produce quicker results and involve less time in construction. This means that when choosing the best projects and plans, we must still take into account the speed with which economic results will be achieved, in other words the so-called time value of the funds.

Speeding up development of hydroelectricity is one of the keys to opening up a new situation in energy resources and there are many important points involved, such as the need to carry out overall plans, the need to develop in a selective and consecutive manner, and, in particular, the need to ensure that geological work is properly done. It is most important that project management is improved and that every means is sought to bring down costs and shorten construction times. On the basis of many years of experience the most fundamental condition for the development of hydroelectric power is still to solve the problem of investments, and the above suggestions should be considered. Since the early 1950's I have been working in the area of hydroelectricity and, while today it is not my place to do so, I still want to bring this important question for everyone's consideration.

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## IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE BOTH OVERALL PLANNING AND FLEXIBILITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 83 pp 34-35

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] At present, the party and state lay stress on concentrating financial and material resources in order to guarantee the construction of key projects and to overcome the tendency of decentralism and selfish departmentalism. Shall we then refuse to enliven our economy? Shall we again return to the old path of overcentralization?

No, we shall not. To understand this problem in an all-round manner, it is necessary to have both centralization and enlivening of our economy.

Centralization and decentralization are a unity of opposites, both the necessary centralization and proper decentralization are aimed at the healthy development of our socialist economy. Enlivening our economy is a correct policy formulated to counter our previous malpractice of excessive and rigid centralization in the system of our country's economic management. Originally, it was not aimed at negating the necessary centralization and unification. At present, laying stress on the necessary centralization is aimed at solving the problem of overdecentralization in using funds, materials, and goods in recent years. It does not mean a negating of the enlivening of our economy.

Adhering to the principle of centralization and unification in our socialist economic construction is an objective demand of socialist economic law. Social mass production is formed in a criss-cross manner by quite a lot of departments and units. In order to strike an overall balance and to promote the smooth proportional development of our social economy, it is imperative to practice a centralized planned economy on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production. Our country has a vast territory and a huge population, with a weak economic foundation. Its development of production is extremely uneven and there are diverse economic forms within it. Shall we give up centralization? Naturally, overconcentration is inappropriate and impractical, but it is imperative to maintain necessary centralization. Otherwise, we cannot amass the necessary financial and material resources in order to conduct some major undertakings favorable to the state and people. In the past few years, phenomena of



overdecentralization have emerged and decentralism and selfish departmentalism have developed in some localities and units. As a result, necessary centralization has been weakened. The outstanding manifestations of these phenomena are the overdispersal of funds, goods, and materials. The state has amassed too little financial and material resources to guarantee the construction of key projects and it is difficult to put an end to duplicated and blind construction. This shows that it is imperative to lay stress on centralization at present.

Necessary centralization does not mean an exclusive centralization. It means to centralize what should be centralized. All major issues, major projects, and major aspects or the most important aspects of certain issues should be managed in a centralized manner. For example, the major proportional relationships in our national economy, including the proportion between consumption and accumulation and the rate of increase in consumption funds should all be governed in a centralized manner by state plans. The financial and material departments of the state should amass in its hands the necessary financial revenue used to guarantee the construction of key projects and the various forms of state expenditure. The state should also amass in its hands the materials and goods which need to be allocated in a centralized manner. Decisions on and the organization of the construction of the key construction projects must be managed in a centralized manner by the state's planning departments. The policies related to prices, wages, and credit, the principles, and major targets should be decided in a centralized manner by the state and so on and so forth. In addition to these problems, there are still a large number of problems of a partial and local nature. It is not possible nor necessary for the central authorities to handle all these problems in a centralized manner and it is imperative for the local authorities and enterprises to manage and handle them separately level by level.

The socialist state-run economy of our country is based on several hundred thousand enterprises. The financial resources that the state needs to amass are chiefly provided by the enterprises from their net income; the materials and goods that the state needs to amass are produced by enterprises. Only when we acknowledge the relative independence and the necessary decisionmaking power of enterprises under the state's centralized leadership, and only when we give full play to the initiative of the masses of staff and laborers in order to produce more and better products and to create more wealth, can the state be provided with a rich source and a solid foundation for amassing its financial and material resources.

Therefore, adhering to necessary centralization should not hinder the enlivening of our economy or injure the initiative of our enterprises and masses of people. On the contrary, necessary centralization is a prerequisite for enlivening our economy. Because only when we adhere to centralization and unification can we ensure the correct orientation of enlivening our economy. What we should enliven is a socialist economy and what we will give play to is the initiative of our enterprises and masses of people in building up socialism. Carrying out the reform in our economic system is aimed at perfecting and developing the socialist relations of



production. If the regulation of the market mechanism is divorced from the guidance of planning and if the decisionmaking power of enterprises is divorced from the state's unified leadership, our enterprises will depart from the socialist path, will follow an evil path, and will resort to unhealthy practices. This will only put our socialist economy into chaos. If we allow the malpractices of increasing the prices of means of production and of making excessive charges on our capital construction units to grow unchecked, we will only enable a few enterprises to earn illicit profits while the great majority of enterprises will have heavier burdens. As a result of being compelled to shift their burdens, these enterprises will in turn increase their prices. This will harm the interests of the great majority of producers and consumers. The malpractices of increasing a unit's or an individual's income by the illegal means of tax evasion, misappropriation of the profits delivered to the state, unauthorized price hikes, the lowering of the quality standard of products, and so forth are not only divorced from the aim of our socialist production but also run counter to the principle of distribution according to labor. In order to adhere to our socialist orientation and planned economy, we need the unified leadership of the principles and policies of the party and state and we need the state's unified planning. The state must have sufficient funds, materials, and goods in its hands and should intervene in and guide economic life. Therefore, a rational combination of the necessary centralization and proper decentralization will certainly not make our economy rigid, but will actually enliven our economy. It will by no means cause our economic reform to retrogress, but will promote the healthy development of the reform of our economic system.

Of course, in practicing necessary centralization, we must keep our historical lessons in mind and refrain from our previous malpractice of over-centralization. This requires us to base the measures and steps of centralization firmly on the foundation of objective economic law. In order to carry out the state's centralization and unification, it is extremely important to strengthen our administrative measures to establish and perfect the law, regulations, and systems which conform to the reality of our country. In carrying out centralization and unification, we must apply, in accordance with the requirement of objective law, economic methods and economic levers and give full play to the role of taxation, credit, and prices. We must handle meticulously and in accordance with the objective economic law things that must be managed in a centralized manner. In utilizing the funds, materials, and goods that have already been amassed in our hands, we must not only guarantee the key projects, but also do a good job of striking an overall balance. We should make every effort to practice thrift and eliminate waste in order to achieve better economic results. A rational combination of the necessary centralization and proper decentralization will give play not only to the powerful force of centralization, but also to the vigor and vitality of local authorities, enterprises, and masses. This means we will have both centralization and flexibility. Thus we will be able to guarantee the steady development of our socialist modernizations.

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UNFOLD LITERARY AND ART CRITICISM, PROMOTE FLOURISHING CREATION--NOTES ON  
ACTIVITIES OF SHAANXI'S 'BIGENG' LITERARY STUDY GROUP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 83 pp 36-39

[Article by Wang Yu [3769 1946]]

[Text] Literary and art criticism and literary and art creation, as well as critics and writers, should all be mutually supportive and helpful, each promoting the other. The writer, with his knowledge of life, and in his pursuit of art and literature, writes pieces of work allowing the readers to appreciate beauty and have their thinking stimulated and enlightened and thus captures that particular period of history. The critic, with his knowledge of the essential nature of life and his investigations into the rules of art and literature, examines the writer's creation and provides an objective evaluation of the piece of work, thus increasing the reader's level of enjoyment and appreciation. Looking at the historical development of literature and art there have been many instances of critics voicing their opinions and of writers heeding their good advice. In ancient times in China, although there were very few people who specialized in literary criticism, criticism and analysis of written pieces of work and evaluations of success and failure were already well established as a literary tradition. Beginning with the works of Cao Pi, the high tide of Lu Ji's contributions as well as the successes of Liu Xie and the many later volumes of poetry, writing, and so on all embody the artistic and literary creative experiences of China and it is these experiences which have promoted the development of Chinese art and literature to this very day without losing any of its glorious sheen. In 19th-century Russia, such revolutionary democratic critics as Belinsky, Chenishevski and Dubrolovov and the relationships that they had with Gorky, Goncherev, Dugrenev, Ovstrovsky, Tolstoy and other writers either in recognizing emerging talent, organizing public opinion, assessing their experiences, or pointing out their errors and mistakes, formed a glorious chapter in the history of Russian literature and art.

The establishment of literary and art criticism on a Marxist basis represents one part of the revolutionary cause. Based on analysis and research into concrete pieces of work, such criticism adopts a Marxist position in assessing the writer's experiences in understanding life and reflecting life and then evaluates his success or failure, helping the writer to grasp

the principles of Marxism even better and create pieces of writing with high ideological and literary standards. At the same time, the critic constantly enriches his own theories through his research into the writer and his work. The prosperity and development of socialist literature and art mainly depends on a group of creators nurtured with Marxist theories, and enriched with experience of life and literary experience. However, the construction of a group of critics who have grasped the principles of Marxist aesthetics and understood the rules of art and literature will also provide the necessary strength for guaranteeing the healthy development of socialist art and literature. Thus the development of organized activities involving art and literature criticism is extremely important in promoting the development of these two forces--the writers and the critics.

However, many years of prejudice which have overemphasized creation and ignored criticism, have also meant that no attention has been paid to the construction of a group of critics. In the case of Shaanxi, with the exception of certain comrades, there are virtually no specialized art and literature critics. The "Bigeng" literary study group at the Xian branch of the Chinese Writers Union was therefore set up under the direct auspices of the Shaanxi provincial party propaganda department and the Xian branch of the Chinese Writers Union in order to develop activities relating to art and literary criticism. Its maxim is to unite and organize literary and art critics in the Xian region to confront the present-day realities of literary and art creation in the province and, using the guidance of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, to develop theoretical research into art and literature and criticism of writers' work, thus promoting the prosperity of socialist art and literary creation.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the generation of young writers growing up in Shaanxi spent a great deal of time at the grassroots level and their experiences were extremely complex ones. With the surge in ideological emancipation these people found themselves greatly affected by various intense social problems, while their minds were less constricted by the old framework and traditional ways of thinking and thus the starting point for their creativity was fairly elevated. Judging by the pieces of work which have won awards over the years such as "The Window" by Mo Shen, "Full Moon" by Jia Pingao, "Trust" by Chen Zhongshi and "The Walking Stick" by Jing Fu as well as more recent medium length novels such as "A Soul-Stirring Dusk" and "Life," one could say that such works are the first promising books of this new generation. But starting off at a high level is not the same thing as getting progressively higher, and a serious question which all writers and artists must consider today is how to surpass their initial levels of creation. How can we truly solve this problem? We must depend on the writers to consider these questions themselves and probe further while at the same time they should also seek concrete and true help. They are not interested in the general call for simplification, nor are they content with the concept of considering things as they stand. Only with critics helping them to assess their experiences on a highly theoretical basis and to examine and analyze the successes and failures in their work, will they be able to widen their horizons, sort out their

problems and confusions, and be sure and firm in their creation. In 1980, before the "Bigeng" literary study group had been set up, the Xian branch of the Chinese Writers Union and the editorial department of YANHE came into contact with some young writers and became very aware of the fact that critics should play a greater role to help these young writers to develop more. Thus the editorial department of YANHE invited some artistic and literary critics and writers from the province to attend a seminar on creation in rural themes, which was held in Taibai Prefecture. The seminar concentrated on how to improve levels of understanding of the complex changes in modern rural life, the setting up of a comprehensive outlook on life, and the creation of models, in particular model socialist characters. This was done through concrete analysis of various pieces of work and the voicing of different opinions on this work, as well as through discussion on questions of creativity of general concern to all those present. All the critics and writers who attended the seminar felt that it was extremely useful and profound. The young writer Chen Zhongshi said: "Since I have been writing and producing novels, I have never had so many critics and colleagues pick out the shortcomings in my work. I hope that the writers union will continue to focus on this area of work." Several years later, the young writer Jing Fu who also attended this seminar recalled with deep feelings how the seminar had opened his eyes more than ever before. So many new fields appeared for him to examine and probe. His short novel "The Road" was already in draft from before the seminar took place but he was not very confident about it at all. At the seminar, he worked with critics, examining ways of improving it and after the seminar he revised the draft. When the short novel was published it received a great deal of attention and many critiques considered that the leading character in the story was "as rich and solid as in social life itself."

Art and literary criticism must be accurate and to the point and it must serve the constant creation of a new aspect in socialist art and literature. This demands that the work of criticism be guided by the principles of Marxist aesthetics and that it carry out comprehensive analyses of the successes and failures of a writer's work, assessing contemporary development, changes in life, and general trends in art and literature, thus pointing the way forward in art and literature. In this way the writers will be helped to expand their fields of vision and will not simply rest on their laurels, but rather look for weak points and shortcomings that still need to be overcome, thus making great leaps in creativity. On the other hand, as critics assess the creative experiences of writers, they may enrich their own theories and expand their own research. In this way both sides inspire each other and bring out the best in each other, and so move forward hand in hand.

In 1981, "Bigeng" organized another forum on creation in rural themes. The older generation of writers in the Shaanxi area such as Liu Qing, Wang Wenshi, and so on all wrote on rural themes and what is more, some of their works had been very well-known and outstanding works. Many of the middle-aged and younger generation of writers had also written on rural themes. The basis of the forum was the assessment of the experiences of the older generation of writers and their work on rural themes. Thereafter, there

were discussions on how to put into the perspective of our times the changes in the countryside, of how to reflect the conflicts and contradictions within rural life more effectively, and how to create model rural characters of the new socialist people. There was also careful and penetrating analysis of the descriptions of the simplification of the post-prosperity lives of the peasants which appear in some short stories today. It was felt that to only write about how peasants got hold of money and how they spent it not only inaccurately reflected the significance of modern changes in the countryside, but, furthermore could also generate formularized and generalized works dependent on money. After the forum, many critics, inspired by the spirit of the meeting, worked to promote critical works reflecting the glorious historical changes in the countryside and as a result, a series of rather good pieces of work emerged.

Art and literary creation and criticism share a common aim, namely defining what is good or bad for the socialist cause. A critic's criticisms of any writer's work should be honest and sincere and when something is good he should say so, when it is bad he should also say so. The "Bigeng" literary study group embodies this approach toward criticizing a writer's work, especially a young writer's work. Thus the group always confirms writers' successes and achievements in their probing into life and literature while at the same time pointing out the obstacles preventing further ideological and literary development. Take the case of the writer Jing Fu, who has already written quite a lot of influential work. Some of his work, such as "The Walking Stick," has won awards at national appraisals and yet his standard of work is not constant and thus, not only are the critics of "Bigeng" thinking of ways to help him improve, the writer himself has actually asked that they do so. Thus, in September 1982, a discussion meeting was held to look at Jing Fu's work. The meeting first confirmed some of his good points such as the many years that he has spent on the soil he knows so well, his abounding faith in the new changes in life, and his artistic abilities. At the same time it was pointed out that his vision was rather narrow and that his view of the world was sometimes affected by money and that he did not pay enough attention to the creation of model characters, particularly new socialist people. It was felt that his works were generally too heavy and intense, complex, and crude. Those attending the meeting felt that this kind of criticism helps writers to remember to take note of the good points and bad points in their work and thus helps them to gain greater development in their future work. The critic must not always be the kind of person who is "wise after the event," he should also actively have a hand in the creative processes of the writer, understanding the writer's problems and also judging his successes and failures, for only in this way will the writer feel that this is true and honest help. At this meeting, the writer Jing Fu himself actually said: "I have not systematically studied Marxist-Leninist theories of art and literature nor have I received any standard or systematic literary education. As a result of inherent shortcomings, my steps forward have been hard and sometimes I have taken steps forward and yet not been completely vigilant. The discussion of my work that 'Bigeng' has carried out has, with an integration of theory and reality, helped me improve and this has been without doubt a way of making up for missed lessons in literature

for me." Other middle-aged and young writers at the meeting also said: "Those who write must study life but often we are not clear in our thinking about certain of life's problems. Now everyone has been set thinking... specialized groups designed to discuss creative writing such as 'Bigeng' should continue to develop and expand."

Art and literary criticism must provide clear answers to questions which emerge in creative writing and they should not merely take advantage of situations for their own ends and talk ambiguously and vaguely. Naturally criticism must primarily be accurate and rational. Second, it should help those being criticized and there should be no hidden prejudices. Third, there should be both criticism and counter criticism so that right and wrong may be clarified through discussion. Art and literary criticism should be seen as the writer's protector. In the past, we have carried out literary criticism with the big stick, assuming a posture of judgment and behaving simply as political judges, saying what the writer could and could not be, or do. This kind of behavior far exceeded the limits of art and literary criticism and in some cases it was done simply to punish people. As the central authorities completed the task of restoring order out of chaos in terms of our guiding ideology, this kind of art and literary criticism using the big stick was spurned by most people. But in the cases of certain regions and certain work units there is still a need to purge these poisonous "leftist" influences. Thus, not only must art and literary criticism thoroughly shake off "leftism," it must also boldly resist "leftism," so that if and when writers come in for unreasonable censure or simplified criticism, including personal attacks and exaggeration, art and literary critics must come out boldly and uphold the truth. If this does not happen then the flourishing of creativity will be harmed. However, we should also note that the 10 years of social chaos meant that Marxist principles suffered extreme damage and this, in addition to the unfavorable trends within the party and society, meant that a small number of young people lost their faith in socialism and in the ideals of communism, while at the same time, capitalist individualism, nihilism, and other erroneous ideologies raised their heads. The implementation of the open-door policy and the resultant corruption of capitalist class thinking inevitably left its mark in the minds of certain artists and writers. Art and literary criticism must develop the struggle on these two front lines. As for various erroneous tendencies in individual writers' works, art and literary criticism must remain firm, carrying out exhaustive analysis and reasoning and thus clearing up the problem in this way, for this is the only way which will help the writer to develop healthily. It is often said that "a good medicine tastes bad but is good for the illness." This is very true. To remain silent when one sees a writer's shortcomings, even going to the extent of treating an ulcer like a pearl, may seem to be a way of showing respect for a writer, but in actual fact it is very damaging and this sort of thing should be checked.

The discussion meeting called at the start of 1982 by "Bigeng" to handle the writing of Jia Pingao, was opened in this very spirit. Before the meeting, critics and enthusiastic readers from inside and outside the province held varying views on Jia Pingao's work. Some of his works had



already appeared as articles in newspapers. Many members of "Bigeng" had previously written articles of criticism on Jia's work, confirming the writer's acute literary eye and his pursuit of the beauty in life. However, in view of some varying opinions, the members of "Bigeng" dutifully read some of Jia Pingao's newly published work and afterwards exchanged ideas and opinions. Everyone felt there were some problems in this work which required consideration and since they also felt that these problems were related to certain erroneous tendencies which were emerging in literary trends at the time, it was decided that a meeting should be held. Before the meeting the leaders of the Xian branch of the Chinese Writers Union stressed that the meeting should uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, being rational, helping those criticized, and leaving some leeway. With this in mind the members of "Bigeng" and Comrade Jia Pingao exchanged ideas repeatedly. Comrade Jia was invited to attend the discussion while special care was also taken to invite the numerous critics who viewed Comrade Jia's new works in a positive light. During the meeting, Jia Pingao's creative practice was examined steadfastly and his early works were greatly praised. However, criticisms were made of some problems of aesthetic appeal and some ideological errors in his work. Some comrades said that the author's answers to the three questions on the nature of life, the attitude which should be adopted toward life, and the meaning of life were not sufficiently accurate. He was striving for what appeared to be the realms of religion, totally detached from reality and he showed a very negative attitude toward death and a very cold and indifferent attitude toward life. Some comrades felt that such principles as probes in literature should be guided by probes into life, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought should be the overall guiding principle were poorly represented in Jia Pingao's work. At the meeting even those comrades who basically supported Jia Pingao's work actually felt that the author cast too heavy a shadow over life and that this illustrated an insufficient grasp of life and its meaning. Critical articles which appeared after the meeting maintained the principle of seeking truth from facts and while they did not erase the author's good points, they did not cover up or conceal his faults either. This attitude of sincerity and heartfelt criticism of faults embodies the duty that art and literary criticism has to the people and to history as well as to writers themselves. At the discussion meeting Jia Pingao understood the things that he seemed to be striving for in his writing and he went on to say that he would systematically study some of the works of Marx and Lenin, some historical works, some works on philosophy, and aesthetics and that he would involve himself more intensely with life. Furthermore, he felt that the criticisms of his work were truly helpful.

Although creation and criticism have a common direction and they actually adhere to the same laws of thinking, it is sometimes hard to link up various different opinions, so that different sides tend to take different directions and views differ. Not only does this contradiction exist today, it will continue to exist in the future. Looking at the situation in Shaanxi, we can see that this has happened in our province. Some critics are not well versed in the principles of Marxist aesthetics and Mao Zedong literary thought, nor are they very clear about developments in real life, while their grasp of the laws of art and literature is still somewhat

wanting and thus they sometimes tend to make inaccurate or biased comments in their criticisms, thereby creating conflict with the writers. However this by no means represents normal relations between the critic and the writer, and between creation and criticism. Nor may one say on the basis of this that criticism plays no role in creation. Of course, the key to solving this contradiction lies in the critic constantly improving his own theoretical training, his knowledge of life, and his ability to appreciate things. The writer too, should take note of and consider carefully all criticism. With the understanding and help of writers, "Bigeng" has done some such work and not only did the small contradictions which were present not create conflict, but rather, relations on both sides have been improving.

Making use of art and literary criticism does not mean that criticism is an appendage of creation nor does it mean that creation is subsidiary to criticism. What it means is that the glory of creation and the construction of armies of creators can be promoted through criticism. Mr Lu Xun once said: "We need clearer criticism, for only then can there be hope for the birth of new art and literature and new criticism." ("Literature and Criticism' Translator's Notes") While there are still many areas which require improvement and change, and thus the overall standard of the organized art and literary criticism activities of "Bigeng" is not high, the attention these activities are gradually attracting in the literary world and the world of critics has provided useful experiences in the field of creation and criticism.

CSO: 4004/51

CAUTIOUS AND CAREFUL, CONSCIENTIOUS AND METICULOUS--SEVERAL INSTANCES OF  
HOW COMRADE MAO ZEDONG PERSONALLY PROOFREAD DOCUMENTS AND WROTE NOTICES ON  
CORRECTIONS OF ERRORS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 83 p 40

[Article by Yang Shengqun [2799 0584 5028]]

[Text] Among Comrade Mao Zedong's manuscripts, there are some letters about the proofreading of his works and notices on corrections in his handwriting. Naturally, these writings are relatively less important compared with his very popular works. However, they reflect Comrade Mao Zedong's cautiousness, carefulness, conscientiousness, and meticulousness in writing and publishing his works.

Comrade Mao Zedong advocated that it was necessary to "conscientiously revise" what one had written. This is known to all. However, as a writer with a high sense of responsibility for the people, he did not regard the final revision of his writings as the completion of his work of writing and paid great attention to proofreading when his manuscripts were being printed. At one time in 1938 when he sent the final revised manuscript of one of his articles to be printed, he wrote to Comrade Guo Huaruo: "The first section has already been finally revised and can be printed immediately. However, we must pay attention to proofreading, and you must personally proofread it at least once." Moreover, he particularly pointed out: "Pay attention to punctuation marks and ensure that there are no mistakes." If an article was important, he not only enjoined the relevant comrades to conscientiously proofread it, but he also often personally and repeatedly proofread it. On 27 June 1938, when "On Protracted War" was being published, he personally proofread it and later wrote to the comrades in the publishing department: "I have proofread all of it. Please send part three back to me for my proofreading once more." "I request that you give a final proofreading to parts one and two extremely meticulously, and do ensure that there are no errors whatever." On 8 November 1938, when he sent in the manuscript of the report to the Sixth Enlarged Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee after he had revised it, he wrote to Comrade Xu Bing and enjoined him: "Please carry out the first and second proofreadings. I will carry out the third and fourth proofreadings."

Whenever Comrade Mao Zedong found any errors in the writings drafted by him or signed by him for issuance, even if the errors were minor ones, he seriously and conscientiously corrected them with meticulous care. On 1 June 1938, he specially wrote to Comrade Xu Bing about a wrong word in his article "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan." He wrote: "In line 12, passage 2, page 7 of the article on 'Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War,' the word 'military' in 'the massing of the military forces for use in one important direction' is an error for the word 'principal.'" He earnestly enjoined: "If it is not too late, please correct this error when this pamphlet is being printed." Despite his heavy work load, he personally wrote notices of correction for newspapers and news agencies. On 2 May 1945, there were a few printing mistakes in the article "On Coalition Government" published in JIEFANG RIBAO in Yanan. He immediately wrote a notice on corrections in the name of the newspaper and had it published on 3 May. On 24 April 1949, the JIEFANG BAO in Beijing carried his article "May 4th Movement" in which there were four extra words and two words missing. Immediately on that day, he wrote a list of corrections for the editorial department of the paper so as to correct all the errors and attached a letter to the list "requesting the publication of the list in the paper." That very day, the XINHUA News Agency transmitted the "Proclamation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army" which was signed by Comrade Mao Zedong and Zhu De. Mao Zedong found that there were two printing mistakes in the article, namely, "must" was misprinted as "all" and "village" was misprinted as "people." The next day, he wrote a notice on corrections for the news agency and said: "We earnestly request that all the broadcasting stations and newspapers transmit and publish this correction notice. We also earnestly request that all the political organs of the PLA correct these misprintings before they issue this proclamation."

It was precisely because of Comrade Mao Zedong's exacting meticulousness in writing and proofreading his works that the large number of his works were able to appear before us in such an accurate, well-knit, and beautiful style. Today, when we review his well-known articles, characterized by deep insight and vivid language, and when we recall his deeds in personally proofreading his works and writing notices of corrections, what great enlightenment and benefits every comrade of us who is engaged in the work of writing and editing will gain!

CSO: 4004/50

EXPLANATIONS OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT NOTIONS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct 83 pp 41-48

[Article by RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] VII. On Literature and Art

31. /"Workers in literature and art who are responsible to the people should unfailingly and consistently face the people, keep improving, réfrain from producing in a rough and slipshod way, seriously assess the social effects of their productions and strive hard to provide the people with the best spiritual food."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 183)

(By Li Xia [2621 0007])

Here, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a demand to workers in literature and art to improve the quality of the spiritual products and has pointed out the principles to follow in improving their quality.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in our country, thoughts on the literature and art front have been lively, productions have been thriving, the quality of the productions has steadily improved, and, in general, an unprecedentedly good situation has appeared. However, some productions have shown a certain tendency that is worthwhile noting: Some have insisted on the two "whatevers," tightly clinging to the "left"; some have indulged in tunes of low taste, in expressions of unhealthy feelings, striving for low-taste interests and stimulation of the senses; some have sought to commercialize spiritual productions; some have even gone so far as to take the liberalized steps of capitalism, doubting, negating and even opposing the party's leadership and the socialist system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his congratulatory speech made at the "Fourth Representatives' Congress of Literature and Art Workers of China," concurrently with acknowledging the successes of the literary and art circles, has expressed the urgent hope that workers in literature and art would pay attention to the social effects. Subsequently, in an article on "The Current Situation and Tasks," he pointed out: "Progressive and revolutionary workers in literature and art must consider the social effects of

their productions and must also consider the interests of the people, of the state and of the party"; "Work in literature and art has immense effects on the trend of thought of the people, particularly of the youths, and on social stability and solidarity. We fervently hope that all comrades in the field of literature and art, as well as comrades engaged in educational, information, and theoretical and ideological work will constantly and consciously pay close attention to the whole situation and unceasingly engage in struggles to raise the socialist consciousness of the people and of the youths." (p 220) In his "Talk on Problems of the Ideological Front," Comrade Deng Xiaoping again pointed out that productions such as "Ku Lian" [5388 2043] ["Bitter Love"], which had committed many serious errors, should be heavily censored and that we must rectify the weak and timid state of daring not to criticize erroneous tendencies.

Literary and art productions influence and educate people by means of their literary stature. Any literary and art production is bound to produce certain social effects. The only difference is whether the effects are good or bad. In the history of literature both in China and abroad, there has not been a single successful writer or artist who paid no attention to the social effects of his or her productions. In his writings, Lu Xun was extremely careful of the effects of his works on society. Recalling how at one time he felt the "body warmth" of the money which a student had taken out of his pocket to buy his books, he wrote: "This body warmth found its way to my heart. Since then, whenever I write, I am scared that I may poison these youths, and frequently find it hard to move my pen." ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," Vol 1, p 285) Likewise, Marx, our teacher of proletarian revolution, provided us with an illustrious example of taking careful note of the social effects of spiritual productions. As Engels said: "In Marx' mind, the best that he could give of himself was not good enough for the workers and that not to give to the workers the best of everything would be a crime!" ("Collections of Letters of Marx and Engels," p 465)

Paying attention to the social effects of socialist literature and art is a concrete manifestation of a firm insistence on the Marxist principle that "practice is the only criterion in examining truth." It is an important method of promoting the growth of socialist literature and art and bringing them to prosperity. Socialist literature and art constitute an integral part of spiritual civilization. They must make use of communism to encourage people, to educate people, and to raise the spiritual level and moral standard of people, strengthening their revolutionary determination and the spirit of devoting themselves to the four modernizations. Our writers must dig out those things that are of a high class and are beautiful, praise them and eulogize them, thus encouraging and stimulating other people to follow suit. At the same time, they should unearth those things that are ugly and of low taste, dissect them, expose them and castigate them. This will alert people to keep themselves apart from such things so that in the end these ugly things will disappear. This should be the role played by socialist literature and art in uniting the people, educating the people, and restructuring the social structure. This precisely consists of the positive social effects of literary and art productions which we have emphasized.



A writer who is loyal to the fatherland, who fervently loves the people, who respects his own mission and respects his work will certainly place on a high pedestal the effects of his own productions on society and on the people. This type of high regard is shown in two ways: Before publication of his works, he should take a stern and serious attitude in writing, take pains in revising the script, keep improving it and strenuously avoid production in a rough and slipshod way; after publication, he should patiently listen to other people's views, earnestly sum up the experiences and lessons, and continuously raise the level of his own ideology and artistic achievement.

In order that their productions have relatively good social effects and attain the stage of contributing the best spiritual food to the people, writers must forever face the people and firmly bear in mind the guideline that "literature and art serve the people and serve socialism." The vast masses of writers in literature and art must go deep into life, learn from the people, and absorb rich nutrition from among the people. In addition, they must earnestly learn Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and establish a communist world outlook. Only in this way can they improve their capability of understanding life, grasp and understand the real nature of things through observation of phenomena, and consciously and vividly reflect and describe life, thus enabling their productions to help others in correctly understanding life and rebuilding the objective world. Concurrently, they must continuously strengthen their culture in art, keep improving and ceaselessly enrich and improve their own capacity in artistic presentation. They should earnestly study, absorb, meld and develop all that is good in ancient and current, Chinese and foreign, art and create art forms that embrace national characteristics and features of the contemporary era. In short, if only our workers in literature and art can highly treasure the enormous responsibilities they hold toward the people and highly treasure the earnest wishes of the party and the people, they will continuously be able to watch out for the social effects of their productions and make their products reflect the spiritual luster of our country and people, at the same time becoming the spiritual beacon light guiding millions of people to an even higher spiritual domain and to much loftier ideologies and even better revolutionary quality. This will propel our advance in history.

At present, we should still take careful note of the diversion of certain productions of literature and art from the track of socialism. In certain localities, there are still the phenomena of disregarding social effects and going so far as to commercialize spiritual productions. Some people, anxious for fame and wealth, have "allowed money to take command," provided the people with shoddy productions, and presented them with performances which were second in quality but first in price. Phenomena of this kind are now attracting people's earnest attention. Against this, Comrade Zhao Ziyang, in his government work report at the First Session of the Sixth NPC, solemnly pointed out: "All solemn, patriotic, and revolutionary writers and artists should never use their own productions and performances as means to attain wealth or fame. Capitalist liberalization policy in the field of ideology and culture, and the tendency of being irresponsible

toward the social effects of productions are the antithesis of the guideline of serving the people and serving socialism. We must continue to criticize such tendencies." It can thus be seen that to solve this problem we still have much work to do and must devote prolonged efforts to it. Studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's relevant works ensures that we do a good job in this connection.

32. /"This complicated spiritual labor in literature and art very much requires writers and artists to display their individual creative spirit. What to write on and how to write on it can only be gradually solved through probing by the writers and artists in actual practice. There should be no unreasonable intervention in this regard."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 185)

(By Guo Rui [6753 3843])

These comments made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasize that the party's leadership over work in literature and art should duly respect the laws governing productions in literature and art. This has an important significance in overcoming the past "leftist"-inclined mandatory practices in handling literary and art productions and making criticisms thereon, in bringing about thought liberation among the literary and art circles, and in bringing prosperity to socialist literary and art enterprises.

Why should literary and art productions be termed "complicated spiritual toil"? First, literary and art productions differ greatly from material production. Their mode of production differs from the way a plant turns out fixed types of products according to definite specifications. They demand continuously new ideas. The productions must possess fresh and clear-cut individual characteristics and special features. Duplication and sameness are especially taboo. Just as people have always said: Lack of creation means lack of literature and art.

Second, seen from the creation process, it embodies a rather complicated procedure which includes such stages as creation preparation, composition planning, actual writing (or performance or practicing), revision, editing, and so forth. The turning out of a production must begin with a brewing and preparatory stage. Writers and artists must have passed through definite actual experiences in social life before they can have in store the necessary life-materials for the completion of a production, and only in this way can they generate from their inner selves strong desires for undertaking the creation. If writers and artists want to create successfully certain fresh and outstanding artistic patterns in their productions and bring out deep and richly fresh topics, they should not treat life like a dragonfly, skimming the surface of water or just gaining a superficial understanding through cursory observation. Rather, they should make repeated and penetrating observations, go through experiences, study and analyze the many and complicated aspects of life and obtain therefrom some special discoveries. As to the stages in creating work, they all have their special tasks and pose special demands. All this will need a definite and rather prolonged stretch of time for completion. Thus, Tolstoy took 4

years to complete his work "Anna Karenina," while Cao Xueqin [2580 7185 5367], in composing the "Dream of the Red Chamber," "spent 10 years writing it and rewrote it five times." This was by no means the longest record in the history of literature. If we impose time and volume requirements on the productions of writers and artists and make them turn out works hurriedly, and not in keeping with life conditions, or which are devoid of any creative stimulation, then we are bound to meet with dismal failure.

Third, thought activities in creations of literature and art also have their special features. Creations of literature and art are thought activities with thinking in terms of images as the main component. Writers and artists, aided by thinking generalities, should, fully displaying their capacity for imagination and associated thinking, refine and generalize, analyze and sum up, the large amounts of sensitive materials that have accumulated in their brains. Only after having passed through a high stage of tense and continuous thought activity can fresh and outstanding images and notions be born from the inner self. At the same time, this kind of thought activity is always accompanied by strong and resourceful sentimental activities. Want of stimulation can hardly produce acceptable poems. In their creations, the world outlook, moral concept, and social ideas of the writers and artists are frequently concretely shown in their attitude toward reality and in their definite feelings.

In addition, form and skill in literature and art pose demands of a rather high caliber. Writers and artists must resort to definite tactics of art, such as the literature and language employed by writers, the lines and colors employed by artists and painters, the tunes, rhythms and melodies employed by song writers, and so on, to "materialize" the inner images formed by accumulated creations, conceptions, and plots and render them into real forms of art.

From the above rough sketch it can be seen: The main principals of creations, namely, writers and artists, form their own individual style or characteristic of creation through various factors such as experiences in life, world outlook, outlook on life, individual characteristics and culture in art; creative activities in literature and art represent those kinds of aesthetic activities which have a close relationship with life in society and possess rich contents of understanding and psychology; while on the part of productions of literature and art, they represent the results of work presented in various forms of art and possessing independent styles and characteristics. Hence, we can definitely claim that creations in literature and art consist of a type of special spiritual work imbued with strong individual characteristics.

Long ago, Lenin pointed out: "Needless to say, it is most difficult to mechanically standardize the writing profession, or to force uniformity on it, or even to bring about the minority's submission to the majority. Needless to say, it is absolutely necessary to ensure that in this profession there exists a vast universe permitting individual creativeness and individual likes or dislikes and an enormous universe for thought and illusion, form and content." ("Lenin's Discussions of Literature and Art,"

pp 68-69) First, this is a warning to us to respect the special laws of the writing profession including creations in literature and art, and to avoid, in the leadership work over literature and art, adoption of the general principles in administrative and organizational work. Secondly, it emphasizes respect for the individual creative characteristics of writers, provides full freedom to the creative activities of writers, and ensures the practice of democracy in the realm of art.

Over a prolonged period in the past, due to the influence of "leftist" thought, the special features and laws of creation in literature and art have been neglected. For a time, we only emphasized the nature of literature and art as being the "upper structure" of ideology and forgot to probe into their special features; we one-sidedly stressed the subordinate position of literature and art to politics and made creations in literature and art the temporary, concrete, and direct appendages of political tasks; while as for the workers in literature and art, they were frequently confused with the general run of propaganda workers. This situation reached its climax during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck. The principle of so-called "three highlights" in creation, the method of "three-in-one combination" in creation, and the practice of demanding that literature and art generate public opinion in support of their counter-revolutionary political program represent, in effect, complete violations of the laws of art. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the above-mentioned situation has been changed fundamentally. We must continue to overcome and prevent the specter of unreasonable interventions in the field of literature and art.

Naturally, the emphasis on not unreasonably intervening in the creations in literature and art does not carry the slightest idea of giving up altogether the party's leadership role over work in literature and art. We simply cannot isolatedly interpret "not making any unreasonable interference" as diverting from the party's leadership or diverting from the direction of serving the people and serving socialism. In such a socialist country as ours, displaying democracy in literature and art is entirely synonymous with the direction of firmly insisting on serving the people with literature and art and serving socialism. Our writers and artists should thoroughly understand the important position and important role of our country's enterprises in literature and art in the four modernizations and in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. They should consciously accept the party's leadership, pay great attention to the social effects of their productions and strive to provide the people with an increasing volume of high-quality spiritual food.

There is a marked difference between improving the party's leadership over work in literature and art and unreasonable interference in creation in literature and art. The basic mark of distinction is whether or not they exercise leadership work on literature and art on the basis of the special features and laws governing literature and art. Hence, it is entirely necessary that our leadership cadres at various levels of the party's committees, particularly those leadership cadres taking charge of work in

literature and art, should earnestly study some of the theories on literature and art in Marxism, strive to grasp the inner laws of literature and art, and learn to follow these laws to scientifically guide work in literature and art.

33. /"Insistence on the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' [the 'two hundreds'] cannot be devoid of criticism and self-criticism."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 347)

(By Ma Licheng [7456 4539 6134])

Insistence on the policy of the "two hundreds" and promotion and development of criticism and self-criticism are originally connected to each other and cannot be separated. Because they cannot correctly sum up historical experiences and engage in struggles against the current trend, certain comrades have artificially placed the two against each other. It seemed to them that carrying out this "two hundreds" policy would preclude criticism and self-criticism. Hence, they would rather leave seriously erroneous trends of thought alone and dare not criticize them. As soon as criticism was in practice, they would say that this was "tightening the grip," "bludgeoning." It was precisely against this loose and weakened state on the thought front and on the front of literature and art that Comrade Deng Xiaoping reiterated that insistence on the "two hundreds" policy and opening up a campaign of criticism and self-criticism were of one accord.

The "two hundreds" policy is our party's long-term, and basic policy for developing scientific and cultural enterprises under socialism. The fundamental point in adopting this policy in the realm of literature and art is to insist on promoting and developing socialist democracy in literature and art, create conditions suitable for the prosperous growth of literature and art, and, by means of democratic discussions and free competition and also by means of criticism and self-criticism, develop what is proper and correct, rectify what is erroneous and backward, and promote the healthy growth of the enterprises in literature and art under socialism. At one time, Comrade Mao Zedong called the "two hundreds" policy a policy of "liberation." Only in "liberation" can the wisdom and intelligence of workers in literature and art be fully displayed, and their enthusiasm and creative spirit be stimulated, and can the development of creations in literature and art be ensured in the course of mutual competition. Also, it enables certain writers who have not yet become sufficiently matured to overcome their drawbacks and improve their level in thought and technology in the course of competition and evaluation. The period after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has precisely been a period in which the party's firm insistence on adoption of the "two hundreds" policy has brought prosperity to the realm of literature and art. Experiences have shown: The "two hundreds" policy reflects the law of development of socialist literature and art. To do a good job in leadership work over literature and art definitely requires the irrevocable implementation of this policy.

Carrying out the "two hundreds" policy carries a clear-cut objective--serving the people and serving socialism. Departure from this objective will negate the principled stand of this policy. In the course of the implementation of this policy, unavoidably the phenomena of "truth and fallacy" and "fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds" may make their appearance simultaneously. This will make it necessary for us to wield the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome those things that are erroneous and that can erode the people, to arouse the people's spirit of advancement and of striving hard to make the country strong and powerful, and also to make our literature and art actively contribute to the construction of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization.

The "two hundreds" policy itself implies active struggles in ideology, including both criticism and self-criticism. Upon the publication of a production, it may be subjected to scrutiny in actual practices by society and by the people. It is entirely normal that diverse opinions will be proffered. Through heated discussions on the different opinions proffered, people will take a further step in actual practice and in probing, resulting in further perfecting the productions. Moreover, through these discussions, if the writer concerned can understand his errors, self-criticism will ensue which will raise his ideology and technique to a higher level. Hence, practicing criticism and self-criticism constitutes a necessary condition for implementing the "two hundreds" policy, and provides an important guarantee for developing a new situation in literature and art. Putting aside this powerful Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism will tend to bring about a confused situation of failure to distinguish between good and bad in the field of literature and art.

Some comrades, upon hearing the call for criticism and self-criticism, might feel extremely excited in spirit and deeply worried. This trend of psychology may be traced back to the longstanding "leftist" errors in past guiding thought in literature and art, particularly to the results caused by the persecutions of workers in literature and art that were engineered, during the period of the 10 years' disturbances, by the counterrevolutionary clique led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, under the pretext of criticizing and censuring. This painful lesson has constantly reminded us that "leftist" tendencies may still be found in literature and art and therefore must be firmly rectified and guarded against. However, we simply cannot afford to "give up eating for fear of choking," nor should we tolerate "rightist" tendencies just because we are opposed to the "left," and should not, because of past errors of rude interference, easily and nonchalantly give up criticism and self-criticism. Rather, we should restate the important role of one of the party's three big work styles, namely, criticism and self-criticism and pick up anew the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

Actual practices in the past few years have shown the urgent need for criticism and self-criticism. As a result of the maladies left over from the 10 years of disturbances, and of the erosive capitalist ideas from abroad, a tendency has appeared among a small minority of workers in literature and art of departing from the socialist track, departing from the party's leadership and fiddling with liberalized ideas of the capitalist



class. There has also emerged a tendency of commercializing spiritual productions and of turning out unhealthy productions which are low in ideological value, which disseminate passive and pessimistic sentiments, and which seek only stimulation of the senses. Because of the lack of sufficiently strong criticism against phenomena of this kind, the prosperous and healthy development of literature and art has been disrupted and poor social results have ensued. All these conditions indicate the extreme importance and urgency of formulating healthy conditions and a climate for the prosecution of criticism and self-criticism.

Fortunately, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee, through the correct promotion and development of criticism and self-criticism, has set up worthy examples for us to learn from. For example, in the case of certain productions in literature and art found to have committed errors, leadership cadres of the party Central Committee would call the writers to group discussionsmeetings at which the comrades would personally deliver speeches, patiently and earnestly point out the facts, and reason and offer pertinent advice. Writers who have been subjected to criticism would continue to publish their productions as usual and would equally be rewarded for having turned out good productions. Rude interferences in productions might occasionally have happened but they have been mostly rectified or are being rectified. All these salient facts should completely remove the doubts of certain people concerning the development of criticism and self-criticism.

As for the handling of criticism work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only pointed out that we must emerge from the starting point of aspiring for unity and consolidation but also urged: "Criticism methods should be tasteful; the criticism should be appropriate in extent; do not mount an encirclement attack or organize a campaign." (p 345)

In doing criticism work, we must be practical and realistic and be to the point, rational, and reasonable; we should not only provide sound reasoning and convincing arguments but also here and there insert reasonable and refined technical analyses, and endeavor to reach the objective of unification of criticism in ideology and criticism in technique. In recent years, many good and worthy commentaries and criticisms on literature and art have emerged on the scene. However, some of them have been found to be inappropriate, or have failed to make a good analysis, or are devoid of the faculty of studying and summing up new problems. Some of them have neglected to make a technical analysis of the productions, or overlooked probing into the laws of literature and art, and, departing from the making of images of persons and the description of life scenes, have proceeded solely to criticize the contents of the publications. Some of the commentaries were full of complimentary and flattering terms, while others lacked, and even departed from, the principled stand and scientific attitude of commentaries and criticism on literature and art under Marxism. It is difficult or even impossible for commentary articles of this kind on literature and art to give the writers and readers useful nutrition of any kind. Conditions of this kind need to be rectified.

## VIII. On Socialist Spiritual Civilization

34. /"The kind of socialist country we are building must possess not only a high degree of material civilization but also a high degree of spiritual civilization."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 326)

(By Huang Zheng [7806 1513])

Concurrently with the building of a high degree of material civilization, we must build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. This is an important conclusion arrived at by our party in summing up the experiences in socialist construction in our country over the past 30 years. Concerning this problem, we can make further elucidations in the following three directions:

First, socialist spiritual civilization is an important and special feature of socialism--an important manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. Without doubt, the consolidation and development of the socialist system in our country cannot depart from the development of material civilization. Through the unity and struggle of the party and people, we certainly can rectify the undeveloped state of history and build a high degree of material civilization. However, one of the distinguishing marks between a socialist society and other societies is that the former must possess not only a highly developed material civilization, but also a continuous elevation of communist ideological consciousness and the unceasing display of a revolutionary spirit on the part of the people. Construction of socialist spiritual civilization principally embodies two parts, namely, cultural construction and ideological construction. On the side of cultural construction, the socialist system itself demands an even more universal and rapid development of enterprises such as those in education, science, literature and art, public health, sports and so forth, and also the continuous elevation of the knowledge level of the masses of people. Similarly, on the side of ideological construction, the direction of development and the level of development of sociopolitical thought and theories must be in line with the level of development of the socialist system, in this way enabling an increasing number of constituents of society to become workers who have lofty ideals, high morality, and high culture and are discipline-abiding. Only in this way can the superiority of our socialist system be fully demonstrated.

Second, socialist spiritual civilization plays an enormous promotional role in the building of material civilization. Socialist spiritual civilization has as its nucleus, communist thought. In our socialist society, as a result of the elimination of the system of private ownership of the means of production and of the exploitation system, the masses of people, while themselves toiling to build a material civilization and spiritual civilization, nevertheless fully enjoy at the same time the fruits of material civilization and spiritual civilization. Revolutionary ideology, the spirit of sacrificing one's self for services of the people and the communist attitude of work fostered by socialist spiritual civilization have become powerful motive forces for arousing and stimulating people's

enthusiasm for construction of socialism and for the furtherance of construction of material civilization. The scientific theories and advanced sociopolitical thought of Marxism enable us to correctly handle contradictions in the political sphere, ensure social stability and unity, and thus create a favorable environment for the construction of material civilization. Development of education, science, literature and art and other kinds of cultural enterprises and elevation in the level of knowledge of the workers can provide a cultural prerequisite for the rapid development of material civilization. In the current new historical period, building of a socialist spiritual civilization has an especially important significance for the realization of modernization. On the side of cultural construction, as a result of the party's focal work having been shifted to economic construction, it has become an extremely urgent demand to make the cadre ranks more revolutionized, younger in age, more intelligent and more specialized. On the side of ideological construction, striving hard to basically make the party's style and the social atmosphere turn for the better, to enable education on ideology, on morals, and on discipline and law universal among the masses, and to establish a communist attitude of manual labor and work are also extremely urgent tasks. If we can, through augmenting the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, train up a large number of specialized personnel and skilled workers, who are at the same time imbued with the thought of being masters and with the concepts of proper organization and discipline commensurate with our socialist system of public ownership, then progress of our socialist modernization construction will certainly be greatly expedited.

Third, socialist spiritual civilization ensures that modernization construction will progress in the correct direction. The kind of modernization we wish to build is socialist modernization and is not modernization of any other system. Some comrades have frequently construed our modernization as simply implying a plentiful supply of material goods and improvement in the standard of living. This is extremely one-sided. Such an interpretation neglects the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization. Its result will be to divert people's attention to the building of material civilization, limited to seeking for the material interests of the individual. In this way, our modernization construction will lose its ideal and objective and the correct direction of socialism cannot be ensured and it may even take the wrong road. We must especially point out that as a result of the 10 years of internal disturbances seriously damaging our party style and social style and atmosphere, remnant thoughts of feudalism and capitalist ideologies have grown and become rampant. Due to the infiltration in the past few years of foreign capitalist ideas and hostile influences, a small number of people have been enticed by corrupt capitalist forms of life and have become victims of the inroads of capitalist liberalized ideas. Conditions of this kind illustrate that our modernization construction is being carried out in a complex social environment, that our struggle against the erosion of capitalist thought will still constitute a long-term task, and that stepping up the construction of socialist spiritual civilization represents a powerful weapon for us in triumphantly carrying out this struggle. Simultaneously with stepping up modernized economic construction, we must greatly develop socialist culture,

strengthen communist ideological education, and propagate revolutionary ideals and a revolutionary moral code, sentiments and faith. Only in this way can we effectively fight against the invasion of corrosive capitalist ideas, overcome the leftover thoughts of feudalism and influences from all sorts of nonproletarian ideas, and thus ensure that our modernization will healthily progress along the socialist road.

The simultaneous building of a high degree of material civilization alongside the construction of a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization concerns the problem of a strategic policy in the building of socialism and is a problem that involves the growth or decline, and the success or failure, of socialism. In common with the building of socialist material civilization, it constitutes an exceptionally enormous and difficult task. In the past few years, on the various fronts, attention has been paid to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, many new forms and new methods have been devised, and great successes have been achieved. If only we can persistently carry on this work and utilize revolutionary ideals and the revolutionary spirit to simulate the enthusiasm for the building of socialism on the part of the masses of people, we can assuredly succeed in building a high degree of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

35. /"Building of socialist spiritual civilization has the main objective of making our various nationalities of people become people who have ideals, care for morals, possess culture and are discipline-abiding."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 363)

(By Huang Hai [7806 3189])

Here, Comrade Deng Xiaoping briefly and concisely pointed out the fundamental objective of the building of socialist spiritual civilization and its principal contents.

To take the training up of a new generation of people who have ideals, care for morals, possess culture and are discipline-abiding as the basic target for building of socialist spiritual civilization, is determined by the nature of our socialist enterprises. A socialist society, being the first stage of a communist society, will be in transition eventually to a higher stage of communism. In order to realize this objective, we cannot merely rely on the growth of material wealth, but must also depend on the continuous elevation of the communist ideology of people and on the continuous flourishing of the revolutionary spirit. This is basically different from modernization under capitalism. In many developed capitalist countries, despite their modernization and the rather advanced development of their sciences and culture, everywhere we can see from their social countenance the phenomena of people cheating each other, of downgrading of the moral code, and of the frequent occurrences of degeneration and crime. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The foundation of a socialist economy is the public ownership system. Production is for the purpose of meeting, to the fullest extent, people's material and cultural needs and is not for the purpose of exploitation. On account of these special features of the

socialist system, people of our country have harbored common political, economic and social ideals and a common moral standard. All this a capitalist country can never possess." (p 153) Our socialist modernization construction not only aims at the production of plentiful material goods but also at the training up of superior personnel; it intends not only to greatly raise the modernized level of the social productive force, but also to immensely raise the level of ideological consciousness of the constituent members of society. Only in this way is it possible to prevent socialist modernization construction from taking a wrong road and to ensure that socialist society advances toward the goal of a high stage of communist society.

The training up of a new generation of people who have ideals, care for morals, possess culture and are discipline-abiding reflects the demands of the two sides of construction of socialist spiritual civilization. In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The building of socialist spiritual civilization may in general be divided into the two phases of cultural construction and ideological construction." As for the contents of ideological construction, "generally speaking, of most importance are revolutionary ideals, moral standard, and discipline." Ideals are the centralized manifestation in the objective of struggles of mankind's sociopolitical standard and world outlook. "Possession of ideals" implies that our people should establish a firm belief in communism and engage in the struggle for realizing the far-reaching ideals of communism. Morality is the sum total of the conduct regulations which adjust relations between people and between the individual and society. Morality does not rely on restrictive force as in the case of law but is maintained on the strength of social public opinion, and on the strength of people's faith, custom, tradition and education. The basic principle of morality in communism is the faithful obedience of the principle of collectivism of communist enterprises. "Caring for morals" implies the demand that our people consciously follow this principle to restrict and guide the individual's conduct and to adjust the relations between people and between the individual and society. Discipline represents the rules ordained by various kinds of organs of society (such as political party, government, armed force, association, enterprise, school and so on) for joint observance by their subordinate personnel. Under the socialist system, discipline reflects the demands of the interests of the working people and the objective laws. It provides the guarantee for the proletariat party to carry out the party's road, guidelines, and policies and is an absolute necessity for maintaining production, work and social order. "Abiding by discipline" means that we demand that people place obedience to discipline on a pedestal of a high degree of consciousness and strive with one heart and soul, and in concerted steps, for the realization of the objectives of the struggles of the party and the country. Culture is the sum total of mankind's spiritual wealth created in the course of social development. Lenin pointed out: "We must acquire all the sciences, technology, knowledge and art. Devoid of them, we would be unable to build the life of a communist society." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 50) "Being a person of culture" implies the demand that our people should continuously elevate the level of culture and science, consciously grasp the world outlook and the methodology

of science, hold in their hands the culture, knowledge, and specialized technology needed in socialist construction and become workers who are Red and expert, with an all-round development.

These four phases of "possessing ideals, caring for morals, being cultured and discipline-abiding" can be distinguished from each other but are also mutually supplementary and mutually related and jointly manifest the fundamental demands on the constituent members of society in the field of spiritual civilization under a socialist system. Revolutionary ideals are the main pillars of spiritual civilization and are the main determinants of the socialist character of spiritual civilization. Only in the possession of revolutionary ideals can we consciously make use of revolutionary morals and revolutionary discipline to restrict ourselves and can we have the powerful motive force of striving hard to learn cultural and scientific knowledge. Revolutionary morality is the standard of conduct in the regulation of reciprocal relations under the arrangement of common ideals. It is closely related to revolutionary ideals. Possession of ideals and caring for morals are also united and of one accord, and broken ideals are frequently accompanied by degeneration of morals. Revolutionary discipline is the manifestation of revolutionary ideals and revolutionary morals and ensures the realization of revolutionary ideals as well as the care for revolutionary morals. Revolutionary discipline and revolutionary morality ensure the realization of revolutionary ideals respectively by force of restraint and by strength of the public opinion of society. Ideals, morality, and discipline all possess a strong class nature, determining the socialist character of spiritual civilization. Cultural knowledge is an important condition for the formation of revolutionary ideals, morality, and discipline. Some comrades, not realizing this point, believe that stressing cultural construction will render the nucleus and role of guidance of communist thought unclear or inconspicuous. In reality, Marxism itself is the natural product of mankind's social and cultural development. Revolutionary ideals, morality, and discipline are all related to a definite social culture. It is an incorrect viewpoint to take the possession of ideals, care for morals, and obedience to discipline as the antithesis to culture.

Building of socialist spiritual civilization is the common task of the whole party and whole society. Organs at various levels of the party and government must develop various kinds of lively educational activities among the vast masses of people, first of all among the cadres and the youths. Progressive elements of the whole party and whole society must continuously propagate advanced and progressive ideas and display an exemplary role in actual deeds so as to lead an increasing number of constituent members of society to follow suit. All the citizens should consciously join the ranks in building spiritual civilization and continuously strengthen their ideological and cultural accomplishments. It is entirely possible that through determined and untiring efforts we can convert our people of all nationalities into people who have ideals, care for morals, are cultured, and abide by discipline.



36. /We must display the spirit of patriotism and raise our national self-respect and self-confidence."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 328)

(By Yang Ruiguang [2799 3843 1639])

Displaying the spirit of patriotism and raising the sense of national self-respect and self-confidence constitute important elements in the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

Patriotism has always been an illustrious banner of the unity and struggle of our people and has been a superior tradition handed down from generations of the Chinese people. Lenin said: "Patriotism is the deepest sentiment, consolidated over thousands of years, toward one's fatherland." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 28, pp 168-169) It is precisely this deepest sentiment that has been formed into a gigantic crystallized and centripetal force among the Chinese people and that has enabled the Chinese race all along to maintain a strong unity and thriving vitality despite countless setbacks and dangers. The patriotic spirit of the Chinese people has been generated and developed on the basis of the longstanding history and culture of the Chinese race. In turn, it has greatly influenced the historical development of the Chinese race and has also influenced the restructuring and progress of China's economy, politics, culture and social life, being an enormous propelling force in China's social progress. However, during the 10 years of internal disturbances, this superior tradition of patriotism was seriously twisted and trodden upon by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their lot. This gang of people, while strenuously propagating national nihilism, misconstrued patriotism as feudalist nationalism accompanied by a blind antiforeign and closed-door policy and had the latter eulogized, thus causing great confusion in people's thought. In the last few years, we have adopted an open-door policy and this is entirely correct. Due to the daily increasing activities in foreign intercourse, the infiltration of capitalist ideas and mode of life has been unavoidable. Moreover, as a result of certain people lacking a correct understanding of some of the errors committed in our past work, a small group of people have been obsessed with the spirit of worshipping things foreign and with an inferiority complex. Some individuals even committed such wrong doings as damaging the national dignity and prestige. Against conditions of this kind, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has on various occasions advocated the display of the patriotic spirit, raising the national sense of self-respect and of self-confidence, and has emphatically warned: "If not, we would not be able to build socialism but would be subjected to erosion and corruption by various kinds of capitalist forces." (p 328)

In order to have a deep understanding of the content and significance of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory mentioned above, we should have a correct understanding of the history, present status, and prospects of future development of our own fatherland and people.

First, we should treasure the glorious history of the Chinese race. Our country is one of the ancient civilized nations of the world. It has created an illustrious ancient civilization which at one time produced

deep influences on the culture of the Orient and even of the world. The four great inventions in ancient times of our country, namely, paper, printing, the compass and gun powder, have played an enormous role in propelling forward the civilization of mankind. The well-known Great Wall, the long canal running from Beijing to Hangzhou, and other noted ancient structures and antiques have won people's praise right up to the present day. In our prolonged history, the country has produced many great thinkers, scientists, inventors, statesmen, military strategists, scholars and artists and has produced a plentiful collection of cultural works. The Chinese people are not only well known in the world for their diligence and perseverance but are also a people who have a deep love for liberty and possess a revolutionary tradition and a superior historical heritage.

Second, we should be confident that the Chinese people can well stand on their feet among the peoples of the world. In the middle of the 19th century, due to the Chinese society staying stagnant as a feudal society while various countries in Western Europe successively developed into capitalist countries, China was ostensibly backward. Since then, our fatherland has been the object of successive aggressions and plunders by nearly all the capitalist countries, being reduced to a semicolonial status, while parts of the country actually became foreign colonies. Nevertheless, in the face of aggressive imperialism, apart from a few defeatists and degenerated elements, the Chinese people have never bent their knees. For the sake of the people's existence and liberation and the independence, prosperity, and power of the fatherland, the Chinese people have plunged into extremely strenuous and epic struggles. It may be said that the contemporary and modern history of China is a contemporary and modern history of China's patriotic movements. The powerful spiritual force of patriotism has encouraged and promoted the various nationalities in China to prosecute unyielding revolutionary struggles. At the same time, development of the revolutionary movements has continuously consolidated and fully displayed this patriotic tradition. In spite of these antiaggression struggles of the Chinese people being extremely difficult and strenuous and the many reverses suffered, the imperialists have never been able to force China to its knees. Rather, in the course of the struggles, the Chinese people have continuously searched for the truths of the salvation of the country and of the people and eventually, under the leadership of the CPC, succeeded in driving the imperialists out of the country and become able to announce to the whole world: The Chinese people have stood up. This victory of the Chinese people was a song of triumph that resounded to the heavens and at the same time revealed to people of the world that, in the whole of China's history, the CPC is the most progressive and the greatest patriotic political group. Following the overthrow of the three great mountains and the establishment of new China, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CPC, at once started socialist construction. Over the past 30 years, despite certain errors in our work, we have still made great progress that has won the world's acclaim and the country's international position has been greatly elevated. History has thus convincingly demonstrated that the Chinese people are fully capable of standing on their feet among the people of the world.

Third, we should clearly see that the Chinese people are approaching a new era of development. Because of past "leftist" errors in our work, particularly the severe damages brought about by the reactionary groups of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the disparity in economic, scientific, and cultural development between our country and the developed countries, which had been reduced at one time, has again been widened. However, after the smashing of the "gang of four," the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has, in guiding thought, rectified the "leftist" errors and formulated correct roads, guidelines, and policies. As a result, there has emerged an exceedingly good situation of political stability and unity, economic recovery and development and thriving growth in cultural construction. From 1978 to 1982, the gross value of industrial and agricultural output has increased by 32.6 percent, averaging an annual increase of 7.2 percent. Foreign trade has increased by 120 percent. New advancements have been made in scientific, cultural, and educational enterprises. The total enrollment of students in higher institutions of learning has increased by 300,000 people while the total number of research students surpassed by 83 percent the aggregate number for the 17 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution." The people's standard of living has been noticeably improved. The peasants' average annual income over the past 4 years increased by 100 percent while the average income of staff members and workers in cities and towns (including financial subsidies from the state) increased by 38.3 percent, after deducting factors for a rise in commodity prices. At present, the 12th CPC National Congress has formulated a general program for the gradual modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology, thus building our country into a highly civilized and highly democratic socialist country. The congress advocated the gigantic objective of quadrupling the annual gross output value of industry and agriculture by the year 2000. People of the entire country, encouraged by the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, are currently engaged in strenuous struggles for China's development and for the opening up of a new era of socialist modernization construction. In the first half of this year, the condition of industrial and agricultural production in our country was relatively good and the speed in key construction projects was accelerated. These facts of stability and a sustained growth in economic construction demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system in our country. Therefore, we firmly believe that, following long-term efforts, a highly civilized and highly democratic socialist China possessing modern industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology will emerge in the eastern hemisphere of the world and that a new development and progress of the Chinese people can certainly be achieved.

Seen from the above-mentioned three points, we do not have the slightest reason to generate a national sense of inferiority. On the contrary, we definitely have sufficient ground to feel proud of our people and of the leadership of the CPC and the superior socialist system. The policy of opening our doors to foreign trade and of learning from foreign countries advanced scientific technology and management methods in order to speed up the steps of modernization is a wise policy of the party Central Committee and is demonstration of our own self-confidence. But in the course of

studying we must remain clear-headed and should never permit the corrupt ideas and mode of living of the capitalist class to become rampant in our country, or to become dark spots in the spirit. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The Chinese people have their own self-respect and sense of self-pride. Fervent love for the fatherland and contributing full strength to the building of a socialist fatherland are taken as the greatest honor, while damaging the interests, prestige, and honor of the socialist fatherland is taken as the greatest shame." (p 372) Earnestly studying these words of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and devoting the utmost efforts to their propagation and thorough execution will enable people of the whole country, including compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and fellow compatriots abroad, to become even more united under the gigantic banner of patriotism and to struggle with one heart and soul for fulfillment of the glorious mission of China's development.

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## WE CANNOT 'MAKE ALLOWANCE' FOR EVERYTHING IN THIS WAY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 19, 1 Oct. 83 inside back cover

[Article by He Beiren [0149 0554 0088]]

[Text] Undoubtedly, it is correct to advocate that people and revolutionary comrades should make allowance for one another. Since our society has already become a socialist society, the relationships between people, including the relationship between those who serve and those who are served, and between leaders and the masses already have become a comradely relationship of cooperation. Since their basic interests and goal of struggle are the same, why do people not adopt an attitude of making allowance for one another to solve and harmonize the conflicts that sometimes inevitably emerge between them on certain concrete problems? Making allowance means understanding and sympathizing with one another. In other words, when a conflict occurs, people should put themselves in the position of the other party in order to understand what the other party thinks. Some people say: "Leave the difficulties to ourselves and let the others have the convenience." In some departments and units, a drive of "If I were him..." is being developed. Do these words and activities not embody the spirit of making allowance for one another?

Some people have written: "After all, making allowance for one another is a kind of virtue exclusive of the human race and is what differentiates the human race from other animals." They have even gone so far as to say that "we do not know whether human society could have continued to exist till today if human beings had not made allowance for one another." I dare not completely agree with such an idea, for this view not only goes against the well-known fact that "so far the history of all societies has been a history of class struggle" (since the collapse of the primitive society of public-ownership of land), but also lacks reliable evidence for its applicability to China. We cannot prove whether such an exclusive virtue that differentiates the human race from other animals was possessed by the Chinese people before the founding of the new China. Nor do we know whether Chinese society has depended on making allowance between people for its continued existence. On the other hand, have not some of the other kinds of animals that lack this exclusive virtue continued to exist? Since the founding of the PRC, we have committed the mistakes of excessively expanding the scope of class struggle. During the 10 years of turmoil, wanton

malpractice was committed by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their cliques who criticized and dealt blows indiscriminately and thus caused disasters to our nation. This made people become angry with one another and overlook the necessity that among comrades one had to make allowance for one another. However, this can never be used as evidence to prove that all the previous societies of the human race depended on "making allowance for one another" for their continued existence. The reason why we have raised this question is because viewing "making allowance" in this manner neither facilitates people's correct understanding of history, nor facilitates people's correct understanding of the necessity for "making allowance" today. Therefore, it is detrimental to the correct application of the idea of making allowance.

In order to explain this problem fully, we should review the history of the development of human societies. This is a time-consuming task and would better be left to historians. But we will restrict our argument to the state of affairs today. Some people said, "The crux of the problems related to the relationships between shop assistants and customers, between the party and the masses, and between cadres and the masses lies solely in 'making allowance for one another.'" This is not entirely correct. Judging by some of these relationships at present, the crux does not seem to lie entirely in "making allowance for one another."

The reason why relationships between the party and the masses, and between our cadres and the masses, are not normal enough at present is mainly because, having been seriously undermined by the 10 years of turmoil, our party's work style has not undergone a radical turn for the better. Therefore, despite some needs for "making allowance for one another," the chief method for solving this problem can be found in the words of Comrade Hu Yaobang: "Through this party rectification, we will further normalize inner-party political life, actually correct unhealthy trends, and greatly strengthen the close ties between the party and the masses." ("Open Up an All-Round New Prospect for Socialist Modernization") When we have brought about a turn for the better in our party's work style, we will be able to smoothly solve the problems in the relationships between the party and the masses, and between our cadres and the masses. As for the crux of the problems in the relationships between shop assistants and customers, if these problems are caused by unhealthy ideas and trends in the management of our commerce, they cannot be solved by means of "making allowance for one another." In such circumstances, what makes customers most indignant is not the unsatisfactory service attitude of the shop assistants, but the following unhealthy trends: 1) Proceeding from their own interests, some of our commercial departments overcharge their customers. For example, in order to increase their funds for bonus payment, they raise prices in a disguised manner, give short measure of goods, and sell defective goods for good ones; and 2) commercial departments and shop assistants utilize their power of office to pursue private interests. For example, they build up under-the-counter relationships and secure advantages through pull and influence. Thus, they sell goods, which should have been sold to their customers, in an illicit manner to their relatives and friends. This encroaches not only on the interests of the state but also on the due



interests of the customers. These unhealthy trends, I believe, must mainly be eliminated through rectifying the management policies, ideas, and work style in our commercial departments. It is also necessary for the commercial departments to be supervised by the masses and customers themselves. Emphasizing the need for customers to make allowance for the commercial departments will not help, for the masses of customers will say: It is bad when we do not make an allowance; how dreadful it will be if we do make an allowance.

We should not unreasonably require that an article on "making allowance" should at the same time expound on "necessary principle and struggle." However, neither should we overemphasize "making allowance" to such an extent as to substitute it for "necessary principle and struggle." Though we can make allowance for those who overemphasize it, we must clearly explain the principle for the interests of the masses. I believe that allowance must be made for those who have this intention.

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END